THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Hitler and the Jews

There are about 7,000,000 Jews in Axis-controlled Europe; and it is Hitler's deliberate policy to kill every one of them—old and young, male and female, sick or well. He has already murdered about 3,000,000 and the work is going on apace. For such a thing to take place in the twentieth century certainly comes close to being the greatest tragedy and the most complete piece of barbarism in human history.

We earnestly commend to our readers' attention the special section published with this issue of The New Republic, "The Jews of Europe: How to Help Them." Contrary to the popular opinion, it is not true that nothing can be done for the Jews until after Hitler has been defeated, by which time quite possibly they may all be dead. It is entirely feasible to bring large numbers of them out of Europe, if only we are willing to do so. It is possible also to reduce the rate at which they are being murdered, through threats of retribution uttered in such terms that Hitler and his fellow savages will have no doubt that we mean them. Our special section lays down a definite four-point program for immediate action by Britain and America. It is not yet too late to retrieve ourselves and to prevent our being recorded in history as the tacit accomplices of this most terrible of all crimes.

Kharkov to Kiska

Good news from all fighting fronts continued to dominate the picture during the week ending August 23. The Russians recaptured Kharkov, making possible a drive on the entire Donets Basin. The Japanese garrison on Kiska fled, relinquishing their last toehold in the Western hemisphere. Bombs continued to rain down on Germany and Italy, with increasing evidence that they were doing severe damage. In the Southwestern Pacific the fall of Salamaua appeared near at hand, and everywhere the Japanese seemed uncertain and apprehensive.

Russophobes in America

Hundreds of top-drawer journalists, assembled at Quebec, had found no employment for their talents up to August 23. One reporter listed 19 rumors, for none of which was there any verification. These rumors were doubtless part of the war of nerves against Germany, and a legitimate part.

It was no rumor however that Maxim Litvinov had been recalled from his post in Washington, just as earlier, Ivan Maisky had been sent home from London. Half a dozen explanations of the action were offered; we do not know which, if any, of them is true. We do know however that Hitler's last remaining hope is to sow doubt, suspicion and dissension among the Allies. In view of that, it is nothing short of criminal for American periodicals to attack and abuse Russia as they do, speculating freely that she is about to make a separate peace with Germany, or that she is making impossible demands regarding Europe in the post-war era. Millions of Russia's young men have died in our common cause. In doing so they have saved the lives of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of American boys. People who write and speak against

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Russia at this moment should be required to vote yes or no on the question whether they want America to bear the brunt of the war from now on.

American Arms for Franco?

From London and Washington come reports that the American government has been asked to supply large amounts of arms, ammunition and aviation gasoline to Franco. Ambassador Hayes, it is said, approves of the request. Our government has done some foolish things about Spain, but it is hard to believe we could be foolish enough to do what Franco asks. Let it not be forgotten that Franco is not neutral in this war. He is a member of the Axis. Have we forgotten that Franco's armed troops, mobilized on the Moroccan frontier, made it necessary for us to divert some of our own forces as we advanced in North Africa? Large numbers of Spanish troops are fighting against the Russians at this moment. They are called volunteers, but the appellation is false; there are no volunteers in the Fascist countries. Franco has repeatedly said that he hopes the Axis will win. If we give him arms and ammunition, they can only be used for one of two purposes: to help Hitler, or to shoot down Spanish workers seeking freedom and democracy. If we wanted to convince Stalin that we are double-crossing him, we could take no better way to do it.

The Australian Election

On the heels of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation triumphs in Ontario comes the news of a smashing Labor Party victory in the Australian general election. Incomplete returns shows that Prime Minister Curtin's government is assured of a large majority in both houses of Parliament. The vote indicates clearly that Australia prefers the continuance of a Labor government to a national government which had been demanded in the platform of the Opposition. These victories together with the defeat of the anti-war forces in South Africa and the increased strength of Labor in New Zealand, Eire, and Ulster and, despite the electoral truce, in Britain, indicate that progressivism is on the march everywhere in the English-speaking world —with the possible exception of the United States.

Politics in North Africa

Some of the Frenchmen who have been arriving from North Africa give a report on the political situation that is very different from what we have been accustomed to hearing. They say that for French liberals it has long ceased to be a question whether de Gaulle or Giraud ought to head the government. Although they admire both men with reservations, they don't want either as their political leader. If they had to choose between them, they would take de Gaulle because his record and his following are more democratic. On the other hand, they say that several of his close associates are very curious people and that de Gaulle himself has to be carefully handled, some of his ideas being, as they put it, too "personal."

They have two sound reasons for rejecting both men. The first is that both Giraud and de Gaulle are generals; and ever since the Battle of France and Marshal Pétain's performance after the armistice, the French regard all generals as people to be distrusted. The second reason is that they don't want to be governed by any leader, military or civilian. They want to govern themselves through their own elected representatives.

They report that the French National Committee is not an ideal government, even for wartime. To mention one of its faults, it includes representatives of no less than five great Parisian banks. After a few months, it may be replaced by some other administrative body but for the time being it has risen in popular esteem. It has followed its own course, somewhat independent of the two generals, and it has never acted unwisely in any crisis. Moreover, people like it because it is a group of fourteen men, instead of being a single leader, and because many of its members are civilians. All our informants agree that the delay in recognizing the National Committee has been another of the grave blunders that have diminished our prestige in North Africa.

Who Caused the Detroit Riots?

A committee appointed by the Governor of Michigan has now studied the Detroit race riots and has come to the extraordinary conclusion that the Negroes were primarily to blame. This is reminiscent of old-fashioned reports on railroad wrecks, which always blamed the dead engineer. No doubt there were Negro hotheads as well as white, but the main responsibility obviously lies with the white community, which tolerated conditions that were clearly leading to trouble. The Negroes know that they always get the worst of such trouble as there was in Detroit, and they are right; the great majority of those killed were of their race. The Governor's committee is talking nonsense; it knows it is talking nonsense; so does everybody else.

War Prisoners in the Cotton Fields

In The New Republic of August 9, we published an editorial entitled "Verboten—to Look for a Job." This editorial, based partly upon a press release of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, told of efforts of some southern cotton plantation owners to use prisoners of war to chop cotton in spite of the fact that free American labor was available in these areas at this time. Both the news release and The New Republic stated that the prisoners were being offered eighty cents a day, substantially less than the going rate for labor in that area at the time. We are advised that the rate quoted was erroneous, although everything else in the editorial was correct. Eighty cents a day plus expenses is the minimum the War Department will permit an

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employer to offer a prisoner. The rate actually offered was $2 for ten hours and twenty cents an hour for overtime on any given day. Some planters have offered more than that at the height of the season.

The United States has a dearth of farm labor, and no sensible person should object to the use of voluntary, remunerated work by war prisoners. It seems obvious however that prisoners should not be employed when Americans in the same area are willing and anxious to work, and that the greatest care should be used to see that the prisoners do not serve to break down existing wage standards. These were the main points of our argument, and they still remain valid.

Time and Miss Perkins

Time Magazine in its issue of August 23 takes a swing at Secretary of Labor Perkins. Noting that the cost of living for city workers recently declined 0.8 percent, Time says that Miss Perkins "emerged from the Cabinet morgue to find this droplet impressive" and goes on to say:

> Her reaction to statistics varies. When 0.5 percent of the nation's man-days of labor were lost by strikes in 1942, Miss Perkins had dismissed the figure as insignificant.

All this is pretty wonderful nonsense, even for Time. When the cost of living has been going up steadily for years, when the nation is faced by the danger of inflation and workers are increasingly restive, any halt is welcome and important news. A drop one-tenth as large as the one that occurred would be significant. Miss Perkins was right. She was right also in saying that when 99.5 percent of all workers are on the job continuously, that is heartening news. Time, curt, clear, ignorant and prejudiced, should think twice before it uses such clumsy weapons to discredit the Roosevelt administration.

The Philosophy of Chiang Kai-shek

Chiang Kai-shek is generally regarded in America as purely a man of action; but this is not the case. He is also a thinker, well versed not only in the works of Chinese writers of the past but in recent and current political and economic developments in the Western world. He has lately written two books, one on China's future and the other on her economic development, which give a striking survey of the contents of his mind. We are indebted to the Chinese News Service for summaries of both of them.

Chiang is in general a supporter of Confucius and a follower of the middle road. He believes in a government of law, which is, however, based upon and consonant with morality. He rejects both imperialism and isolationism and points out that a policy of exclusive alliances and regional blocs among the nations only leads to continued war. He opposes liberalism (in its sense of nineteenth-century British doctrine) because it fails to face the consequences of the industrial revolution. Communism he finds equally unwilling to face the consequences of social revolution. Laissez-faire must be and has been discarded as inappropriate to modern times. Rousseauism is based on a delusion; Adam Smith tends toward an anarchy based on self-interest. Fascism he rejects because it is "inhuman." The meliorism of Thorstein Veblen and J. A. Hobson he finds in harmony with the best present tendencies in Chinese thought. He believes, not unnaturally, that crises in human affairs call forth great leaders and also that only in times of storm and stress does mankind seek to improve society.

Whereas Western economics is based on consideration of profit and value, Chinese economics is based on freedom and the welfare of the individual. The chief factors in production are land and labor; money is a medium of exchange and should not play a commanding role in economic thinking. Sun Yat-sen gave us moral principles which must be translated into politics and economics, carried out by legal and constitutional means. He foresees a future in which individual enterprise and some private property would always be retained, but would not dominate the community. Chinese history shows that China will always place strong emphasis on individual freedom, although such freedom must not be carried to the point where the state is nerveless and the people are "merely a pile of grains of sand." After the war, China should have a constitutional government and tremendous industrialization,

Hungerford in The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

Home to Roost

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achieved through a mixed economy, with both private and governmental operation.

It is easy to point out how both the history of China and Chiang's personal history have failed to live up to these expressions; yet the gap is perhaps no wider than that between promise and performance in some Western democracies. A man like Chiang, at the head of a nation of 450,000,000 people, with the ideas he has, is of enormous importance, and the sooner the rest of the world wakes up to that fact, the better.

Bad Reporting by E and P

Editor and Publisher, the trade journal of the newspaper business, is a conservative organ, whose motto seems to be "the newspapers, right or wrong." Nevertheless its news reports are usually accurate and fair; and it is all the more surprising therefore to find in its issue of August 14 one of the most disgraceful instances of tendentious journalism we have seen in a long time.

New Republic readers know that the Federal Communications Commission caught Rep. Gene Cox of Georgia in what looks like a violation of a federal law, in that he took a $2500 fee from radio station WALB, Albany, Georgia, apparently for representing them before the FCC. Congress thereupon, in one of the most shocking acts of its whole career, made Cox chairman of a committee to investigate the FCC—a neat combination of red herring, whitewash for Cox and blackmail attempt. Mr. Cox and his associates, whose conception of patriotic duty seems as low as his own, have struggled heroically to blacken the name of the FCC and especially of its chairman, James L. Fly. They have apparently been aided by the great radio chains which, we are sorry to say, are evidently trying to smash the FCC because it has fought their monopolistic practices. A subcommittee has been sitting in New York, and Editor and Publisher recently devoted almost a whole column to reporting the proceedings. The subject was action by the FCC to obtain the dismissal of certain commentators on foreign-language radio stations. According to E and P, people were dismissed because they "did not measure up to [the FCC's] criteria" and "their material displeased [the FCC]."

This is indeed Hamlet with the melancholy Dane left out. The FCC's objection to these broadcasts was that the broadcasters showed pro-fascist sympathies. Some of them undoubtedly were Axis agents. Some of them gave code messages to submarines at sea. Everybody knows that this was the case; it is impossible to believe that Editor and Publisher doesn't know it. Yet its story, by omitting the only fact of any importance, gave the impression that the FCC arbitrarily used its power to get men fired for trivial reasons or for none. Does Editor and Publisher approve of having American boys drowned through torpedoings made possible by enemy broadcasts originating in this country? What is going on here, anyhow?

Have We Failed Stalin?

MAXIM LITVINOV has been recalled from his post as Russian Ambassador to the United States. There are several hypotheses as to the reason for this action, but the one most generally accepted is that Russia is expressing her dissatisfaction with the amount of help she is getting from the Western democracies, and especially with our failure to open a Western front in Europe. It becomes highly pertinent therefore to review the facts. What have we done for Russia?

It is quite proper for Soviet spokesmen to keep insisting that they will not be satisfied that the Western Allies have done their part until they open a front in Western Europe that will draw sixty divisions from the east. It may be, as the Russians say, that we have missed an opportunity in not having done so in midsummer, while they have been pressing the Nazis so hard. This insistence doubtless has good results in strengthening the hands of those military authorities who habitually advise a more aggressive policy and greater speed. The "second front" for which the Russians are clamoring may in fact become a reality before very long.

Nevertheless it cannot be assumed that because so far this condition has not been met, the aid we have given to Russian arms, directly and indirectly, has not been substantial. It has probably been more effective than if, instead, we had launched a second front prematurely and had suffered costly losses in manpower, material and prestige, without inflicting great permanent damage on the German armies. Such a diversion would have served to lessen the pressure on Russia momentarily, but it would actually have postponed final victory.

Of course the real question is not how much "aid" one belligerent gives another, but how well their capacities are utilized jointly to bring victory and bring it as quickly as possible. Equality of sacrifice is an important issue, but no nation, not even Russia who has borne incomparably the greatest losses, can afford to place this equality ahead of correct strategic judgment. If all the Allies tried only to equalize their losses, Russia might lose the war and have greater manpower losses anyway.

It is worth while at this moment, without trying to settle the question whether an invasion of Western Europe should have been attempted before this, to estimate how Russia—and hence the common cause—has benefitted from what has been done. The diversion of part of our war production to Russia through Lend-Lease is an old story: it remains small in comparison with the Soviet Union's own production, but in many cases it has provided a critical margin of strength. In battle it is possible to be *almost* as strong as one's enemy and still be defeated. And a few machine tools may suffice to break a bottleneck which might be disastrous.

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The well prepared and well planned campaigns in Tunisia and Sicily, though the numbers engaged have been small relative to those on the Eastern front, have inflicted on the enemy a wholly disproportionate total of damage. Between 350,000 and 400,000 Axis troops have been either captured, killed or wounded, according to conservative estimates, and because of the decisive nature of the victories most of these are permanently out of the war, instead of merely being invalided to the rear, perhaps to return later. Thus the equivalent of at least thirty divisions have been destroyed. In addition there is the large amount of material, including planes, ships, tanks and guns, either destroyed or captured. While many of the Axis casualties were Italian, this is a not inconsiderable help to the common cause.

The strategic bombing of Germany and the occupied territories has probably been of even more direct help in the Russians' summer campaign, to say nothing of its function as a preparation for a knockout blow in the future. One of the advantages of the Red Army has recently been that Germany no longer is able to command the air. It is no coincidence that this weakening of the Luftwaffe accompanies the Germans' need to keep a large number of the best fighter planes and pilots on the home grounds as a defense against heavy bombing. Indeed, it is a major strategic plan of Britain and the United States, not merely to damage German industrial capacity from the air, but to force the Luftwaffe to suffer irretrievable losses by this means, so that when the decisive battles of the war are fought, overwhelming air superiority may be achieved.

The damage inflicted on the targets themselves must have some influence on the reserves which the Nazis can throw into the Russian campaign. When, for instance, the oil-producing capacity of Ploesti is cut by half or more, for many months Germany must hoard its strategic oil reserve more carefully and hence must exercise greater caution in the use of gasoline and lubricating oil at the Eastern front or in communication with it. The devastation of the Ruhr and other industrial regions, the disruption of German transportation and the blasting of ports like Hamburg certainly must have been felt at Kharkov.

Finally, Germany's lack of certain knowledge that the Allies would not open a Western front this summer has made it necessary to fortify all possible landing places with the greatest possible speed, and to hold reserves in readiness for any surprise. So large are these forces that it is unlikely that, even if the invasion were begun, it would be necessary to call as many as sixty divisions back from the east, at least until many battles had been fought and great losses had been sustained. Certainly the greatest possible help to Russia would consist, not in a mere invasion, but in an invasion so well prepared and so overwhelming in power that there could be little question of its success, and of its success in the shortest possible time.

Fifth Year of the War

WITHIN A FEW DAYS, the war will enter its fifth year; the birthday can be noted without enthusiasm. Nobody in the United Nations wanted this war—unlike the fascist countries, which glorify militarism for its own sake. Its end will be the end of a nightmare.

It is hard now to look back and reconstruct the mood of the war's early days, four years ago. Hitler, who is today a grotesque and almost comic figure, really did stride across the world like a colossus as his armies crushed with fantastic rapidity Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Yugoslavia and Greece. Things have changed since the dive-bombing stuka was the last word both in military effectiveness and in the psychology of terror. The technique is now outmoded and the stuka obsolete. Those were the days when people really feared that Germany had secret weapons which were making her irresistible. Last week, Goebbels' announcement, for the twentieth time, of a new secret weapon produced derisive smiles all around the world.

Turning to the Pacific, how far away seems the sick horror with which we saw the Japanese overrun the Philippines, Thailand, Malaya, Burma, the Netherlands' East Indies. Who can recapture the helpless despair with which we heard how the Repulse and the Prince of Wales had gone down, victims of the refusal of British admirals to take the airplane seriously?

History will record that Hitler came within a hair's breadth of fulfilling his dream and conquering the whole world. Military strategists agree that if he had launched the invasion of England immediately after Dunkirk, he would almost certainly have succeeded. With England conquered, and her ports available as German submarine bases, almost no help could have been brought from America to Russia. It is no discredit to the gallant fighters of the USSR to say that the balance between her strength and that of the Germans was in the beginning so close that help from outside probably decided the balance. And similarly, help from other powers, and especially Russia, is probably all that kept China in the war. With all her chief allies conquered, could the United States have survived? It is hard to believe.

But the vaunted invincibility and efficiency of Nazism turned out to be neither invincible nor efficient, after all. Though the democracies certainly made one huge mistake after another, Hitler managed to outblunder them. The war revealed an optical illusion: the fascist countries conceal their errors and internal disagreements and therefore seem much better than they are; the democracies magnify all their troubles on the front pages of their newspapers, and appear about twice as bad as is the fact. Someone has said that fascism is like a motorboat that travels at great speed until it hits a rock and goes down. Democracy is like

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a raft on which your feet are wet all the time but it is unsinkable.

To be sure we have a long road ahead of us even after military victory. Our democracy is shot through with continuing weaknesses—economic injustice, class distinction, racial discrimination. Yet after four years of the war, we can note the one most essential victory, in the realm of ideas. The world today is going democratic, whereas in 1940 it looked painfully much as though it were going fascist. No one now doubts the ultimate victory of the United Nations or the ultimate victory of liberty, equality and fraternity, political and economic. The lead is too great to be overcome. All that lies ahead is a mopping up operation on the enemy —at home and abroad.

Dirty Work by the Doctors

TWO PAMPHLETS are being distributed widely among physicians and laymen urging them to press their congressmen to kill the pending Wagner-Murray social-security bill. Publisher of the pamphlets is the National Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Service, blessed by the American Medical Association's House of Delegates and supported by contributions from doctors, "philanthropists" and drug manufacturers. The committee's message is that "doctors of the United States are faced with a real emergency. . . . They can demand a continuation of the practice of medicine under the Christian concept of the sanctity of the human personality—The American Way . . . or they can refuse to be concerned and refuse to assume their part of the responsibility."

This conclusion hardly reflects the spirit of the Hippocratic Oath under which physicians pledge themselves to minister to all the sick, regardless of economic circumstance. Nothing in the Oath commits them to fight programs designed to provide adequate medical care to as large a part of the population as possible.

One fallacy in the Committee's pamphlets is the insistence that the Wagner-Murray bill makes provision for "free" medical care. They misrepresent, inadvertently or otherwise, the fact that the bill is based on the insurance principle, whereby employer and employee contribute to a fund for prepaid medical benefits. There is nothing "free" about hospitalization and medical care paid for in advance, any more than there is anything "free" about funds paid out by an insurance company in the event of injury or death, robbery or fire, accident or damage.

What appears to be at the bottom of the committee's opposition to the Wagner-Murray bill is not so much government guarantee of medical care, but the sharp reminder therein that medicine is a profession, not a business. The committee protests oleaginously that the sanctity of science must be maintained free from government interference, while keeping its eyes fixed on the ball of medical profits.

Actually, the pamphlets are another slap from the reactionary Roosevelt-hating, anti-New Deal forces, this time working through their medical henchmen. The cries are old-hat: dictatorship, bureaucracy, state control, destruction of individual freedom.

The argument that the bill throws medical care directly into the hands of one man, the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, loses its appeal when the limitations on his authority are noted. Every move he could make under the bill would be governed by an advisory board chosen from interested professional groups, presumably the AMA and its satellites. Moreover, the Social Security Board is invested with extensive review powers. This is evidently not one-man domination. Yet, this argument is being placed before Rotary, Kiwanis and other influential community groups, as well as newspapers, magazines and various professional bodies.

Despite weaknesses and loopholes in the present construction of the Wagner-Murray bill (see "Government Aid to Health, The New Republic, July 12), it *is* designed to offer adequate medical care to the American people at minimum costs. The National Physicians' Committee tips its hand by protesting blandly that "the bill, if enacted into law, would provide general medical and special medical care, laboratory tests and hospitalization for approximately one hundred and ten million people." Frankly, we cannot see anything so un-American about that. A casual check-up revealed that many members of the National Physicians' Committee have had contacts with America First and similar patriotic organizations. When they yell about the sinister menace of the Wagner-Murray bill as a typical New Deal "cradle to grave" measure, it is well to remember that you are hearing the NAM in doctor's clothing. In short, the committee and its pamphlets are stooging for all American ultra-conservative groups.

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From Italian Prisons

After the crushing defeat of 1925, Italian anti-fascists turned bitter over the "moral question," in terms of which the parliamentary Opposition had pretended to win the battle fought in the name of Matteotti. The "moral question" meant the unwillingness of the Opposition to resort to other means than juridical dissertations and moral protests. It came to symbolize the second and final failure of the Italian democratic parties, the first having been that of 1919-1922. It became the very formula for the kind of ridicule to which no man who pretended to fight fascism could expose himself. The somber scorn of the communists was its funeral oration.

Nevertheless, it can be said today that Italian anti-fascism has been, above all, a moral question, namely the question of choosing what a man should be, independently of any idea of success. In 1925, it was perfectly clear to all serious people in Italy, first, that fascism was in to stay, and secondly, that it was a totalitarian regime, a state of affairs which had to be accepted or rejected as a whole. Politically, fascism put an end to politics; morally, by asking of the individual and of the group nothing less than unconditional surrender, it made it impossible any longer to regard morals as a private affair; and by embracing every attitude except intellectual firmness, fascism pushed intellectual life, as such, underground. Under these conditions, to people who decided not to yield. political affiliation meant very little, moral character everything, and the quest for intellectual rigor became just as absorbing as that for daily bread.

For these men, irrespective of their political credo (and many of them, at the beginning, would have been embarrassed if asked to give a strict account of their ideas), the first and fundamental act was a mute oath, given to none but themselves and of which only their intimate friends were aware, never to give up, never to have anything in common with "them." The second act was, when they came to the question of "what to do," a full realization that no matter how many people regarded them with sympathy and respect, they were essentially isolated, "Einzelgänger" who didn't even know where they were going, but only what they were going away from. After 1925 anti-fascism in Italy had no glamor whatsoever. The snobbery with which Italian intellectuals and the middle class had treated those blackshirted "cads," which had been so brilliantly expressed in the journalistic campaign conducted by Giovanni Ansaldo during the Matteotti affair, had died down to whispering and resignation.

Now was the time of the "protestants," of the people whose fundamental justification was, after everything had been said, "I can do no other." Sforza's gesture in refusing to serve under Mussolini had been hailed by his younger contemporaries precisely because it was a pure and simple rejection with no political strings attached. When Salvemini, then a professor at the University of Florence, launched the first clandestine paper and went to jail for it, there was no concern with the political tendencies his tiny sheet represented, but only with the moral example he had given. That was what Piero Gobetti, the young Turin philosopher, editor of the weekly publication "La Rivoluzione Liberale," essentially meant when he spoke of protestantism: Italy's need for men who would act and think in terms of "right" and "wrong," "true" and false," and make a principle of rejecting any compromise.

This attitude of complete rupture with the present was common to men who came from defeated political parties, and to others, the younger ones, whom the rise of fascist power and the Matteotti crisis had just made conscious of social and political problems. But with them, although sometimes separated by a theoretical abyss, was a group which had made of intransigence a political and (although they would never admit it) a moral, principle—the Communists. The intransigence of the Communists was, of course, directed on one hand against the bourgeoise of which fascism was, according to them, nothing but the executioner; and on the other hand, against the political compromises and intellectual confusion of the bulk of the Socialist Party. But what really mattered in their attitude was its stern intellectual and moral rigor. After 1920, their policy was obviously doomed, and actually the only thing that was left was the decision to keep alive, no matter what happened, the tradition of the Italian workers' movement which fascism was then smashing by force of arms. But the intellectual level of Communist leaders was such that no cultivated Italian could ignore their discussions. Ignazio Silone was then one of them. In September, 1920, during the occupation of the factories, which in Turin had assumed the character of a new social experiment, the philosopher Benedetto Croce was seen one day walking across a complicated barricade to pay a visit to the officers of the Communist paper "Ordine Nuovo," where some of his best disciples were busy directing what then seemed to be the beginning of the revolution. Piero Gobetti was a personal friend of their recognized leader, Antonio Gramsci, and a contributor to the "Ordine Nuovo." September, 1920, marked a turning point in the formation of Gobetti's ideas. The Italian Communists of the 1920's were sectarian and narrowminded, they were deliberately blind to the essentially libertarian character that the anti-fascist movement was going to assume among the younger generation, but they were

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certainly not "Stalinists." As a matter of fact, Antonio Gramsci died in jail boycotted by the other Communist prisoners on orders from Moscow. But, for all the barrenness of what was going to be their various "lines" in the following years, for all the absurdity of their tactics, for all the hatefulness of their discipline nobody can deny to the men in Italy who called themselves Communists the honor of having been the most stubborn, unflinching and ruthlessly persecuted of those confraternities of stoics who guarded for twenty years the future of the Italian people.

After 1926, the centers of this defense were the prison and the "confino." In a country like Italy, where during twenty years of totalitarian rule the most common joke had been to ask, "Where are the real fascists?" nobody could seriously call himself an antifascist who did not do something for which he could be sent to jail. From 1919 to 1923, thousands and thousands of people had been imprisoned in Italy because they took part in the sporadic civil war against fascism. They were almost all workers and peasants who had defended their parties and their unions against the fascist onslaught. From 1926 to 1929, thousands more were arrested and condemned because they carried on the organization of the disbanded parties. In a sense, it was the continuation of a struggle initiated before the state became totalitarian. But at that time the efficiency of the repression began to make itself felt. Until then, the question had been "how to do it?" Around 1930, for many people, the most distressing problem became "*what* to do?" meaning by that, what to do that could make sense in a situation in which as the regime became stronger and stronger, the people felt increasingly helpless and frightened, and the ground for any kind of effective political opposition seemed completely to disappear.

In 1931, the existence of the OVRA was announced. With that development the scientific phase of fascist terrorism had begun. The OVRA acted on the principle that the Fascist State had no interest whatsoever in spectacular repression, but rather in pitilessly eliminating the small minority of really dangerous irreconcilables and in corrupting the others by convincing them that their obstinacy was childish more than anything else; an enormous number of informers and some terrifying methods of torture served the purpose. Only those who were supposed to be leaders, or at least incorrigible conspirators, were finally brought to trial and condemned; the others were released or sent to the "confino"; and it is not an exaggeration to say that the proportion of the arrested to the condemned was about 100 to 1. This was supposed to terrorize the people in general without making terror an open fact.

But eventually this resulted only in making of the prison and the "confino" the universities of a new Italian élite. In the prisons those who were condemned to heavy terms, the best men of all, studied and developed their ideas, steeled their characters in the everyday struggle against their jailers for the elementary rights of prisoners, and instructed the other prisoners, who then went out and spread the knowledge and the example. Every prisoner, no matter how short his term, knew that any hope of finding a normal life was ended, except the one he could buy with dishonor. The weak ones had time to collapse, before being tried, during the retention period which was long enough to give them time to think things over. Anyone who was condemned for political reasons under Mussolini could get out at any time if only he agreed to sign "the declaration": a pledge to abstain from political activity. Imprisonment was hence a voluntary choice to be reaffirmed every day. In twenty years of rule, Mussolini could not boast of a single fairly well known prisoner who had begged this grace of him.

The prison was the only free university in Italy, in fact the only place where free discussion and political organization could go on without interruption for ten hours a day. Each month, in their reports, the directors of the different jails respectfully submitted to the superior authorities evidence of the disturbing importance that books and discussion had in the life of the inmates. Discussion could not be prevented as long as there were not enough cells in the Italian jails to condemn to solitary confinement all political prisoners. Realizing the danger of those people who, from behind the bars, were forming a whole generation of revolutionists, Mussolini attempted in 1932 a drastic intervention, and gave the order to deprive political prisoners of their books. The answer was an immediate revolt, started in the prison of Finalborgo, near Savona.

The first act was a violent mutiny in the refectory. The second was the declaration of a hunger strike to last ten days for everybody, and if the order were not withdrawn, to be continued unto death by ten volunteers. Among the ten was Giovanni Roveda, one of the men now leading the United Front in Milan. The director of the jail was notified of the decision. He summoned the ones he supposed to be the leaders of the mutiny: "Do you people really believe that I am afraid of letting you die?" They answered, "Never mind. We will die, and in twenty years there will be an inscription on these walls, saying: 'Here the political prisoners died for their books.'" Repression started. Some of the leaders were put in solitary confinement, others transferred to other prisons, with the sole result of spreading the news and the ferment. The hunger strike went on, nourished by the singing of groups of inmates. They could be heard in the village and people gathered outside the jail in groups saying to each other, "They are making the revolution." This was exactly the kind of thing the regime had to prevent—the growth of the idea that fascism was mortal. The hunger strike went on. And on the tenth day the government in Rome withdrew the prohibition against books.

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What the regime had to avoid at all costs was "scandal," and for all the accepted brutality of fascism, a dead man was too heavy a burden. Ordinary people could never become used to slaughter. When Schirru, the anarchist, was condemned to death for "preparing to attempt" to kill Mussolini, the jailer whose duty it was to guard him the night before the execution killed himself the next morning.

In Italy, the only men who could openly impose their will on the dictator were the political prisoners. For twenty years they went from jail to jail, their hands in chains, their books on their shoulders, silent, asking for nothing but the strength to endure. The people saw them passing through a station, or through the streets of a small town, and glanced with terror and pity; sometimes the very poorest gave them a piece of cheese, or fruit.

With these men and their comrades in other countries the future of Italy and of Europe now rests.

NICOLA CHIAROMONTE

An Indian Government Is Possible

IN MARCH, 1942, the situation in India was so explosive and threatening that Sir Stafford Cripps was sent on his historic mission in an effort to prevent it from becoming dangerous. Today, conditions in India are in many respects more alarming than at the time of Cripps's visit, and have as many dangerous implications, not only for the war but also for the post-war period. There is greater bitterness and anti-British sentiment than at any time since the outbreak of the war. The division between the Congress Party and the Moslem League is sharpened as Mr. Jinnah takes advantage of the political deadlock to advance his own political power. A critical food shortage, widespread hoarding and a sharp rise in food prices accentuate popular discontent and are aggravated by the hostility of the population and their apathy toward the war. With thousands of Indian leaders in jail, their followers are disorganized and prone to express their resentment in irresponsible anti-British activities. It is significant of the state of Indian opinion that even such groups as the peasant unions, the student movement, the trade unions and the left-wing political parties that have come out for full support of the British and Allied war effort, nevertheless place the entire blame for the present impasse on the British authorities and demand the immediate release of all political prisoners and the formation of an Indian national government.

How can we explain the fact that the American and British people, who formerly evinced such keen concern over the Indian question, today regard with complacency or disinterest a situation which is certainly not less serious than a year ago? Presumably, they agree with the British that the Indian problem is now one for the Indians to settle.

The basis of the British contention is the belief that the Indian people are not ready for self-rule because of internal disunity. This disunity, the British maintain, makes it impossible to consider the formation of a provisional national government with power to organize India's civilian war effort. It is, of course, inconceivable that the military commanders charged with planning an offensive against Japan from India can believe that the mobilization of the Indian people as loyal supporters of the Allied forces would not strengthen that offensive. But even the announced willingness of the Indian leaders to leave the military conduct of the war under the exclusive control of the British commander-in-chief did not alter the British position. It would seem, therefore, that the British refusal immediately to grant India self-government had deeper meaning than appeared on the surface and was probably based more on post-war than on wartime considerations.

If the British are correct in their belief that the Indian people cannot be trusted with self-governing powers, even to rally them for the war, then the months ahead when military operations are undertaken will be difficult ones. For the experience of China on the one hand, and Malaya and Burma on the other, have shown that the coöperation of the civilian population is indispensable in this war. Furthermore, if India cannot forge internal unity during war, the prospects for her post-war development will be decidedly gloomy. And it is not difficult to realize what effect the failure of India to become a free nation would have on the future peace of the other countries of Asia. It is pertinent, therefore, to reëxamine the real and alleged obstacles to Indian unity and self-government.

In the first place, it is argued that the Indian National Congress Party, which is the principal spokesman for Indian nationalism and has led the demand for a national government during the war, does not speak for the majority of the Indian people. The Congress, it is said, is a Hindu-dominated organization, whose claim to speak for the people of India is denied by other powerful groups, notably the Indian Moslems, the Untouchables and the Indian Princes. On occasion, British spokesmen have claimed that the Congress does not even represent the Hindu masses because its activities are supported by rich industrialists and bankers.

This argument is invalid on a number of counts. The Indian National Congress Party is by far the largest and most representative political party in India, and the only one which is organized on a nationwide basis.

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Its membership unquestionably includes the majority of the politically articulate section of the Indian people and it is completely misleading to compare its one-time seven million members with the total population. It includes representatives of all religious and economic groups, and is particularly strong among the poorer peasants and workers. Furthermore, the contention that its demand for a national government is not supported by other groups in India is not borne out by the statements of Indian leaders and non-Congress organizations, including the Moslem League.

It is also important to note in this connection that the Indian National Congress has never asked for a transfer of power to a Congress-controlled government. What its leaders proposed during the Cripps Mission and subsequently, was the formation of a government representing every important section of Indian opinion which would be "such as to command the confidence of the elected members of the Central Indian legislature," and which the Viceroy would agree to treat as a de-facto Cabinet. Congress leaders even suggested that Mr. Jinnah be asked to form such a government. This demand was regarded as logical by a considerable section of British opinion, and it is particularly noteworthy that Sir Stafford Cripps himself advocated a similar procedure in the House of Commons in October, 1939. In the spring of 1942, however, Sir Stafford, on behalf of the British government, rejected this solution of the crisis as "impractical in wartime."

In support of their contention that the Congress Party does not speak for the Indian people as a whole, British spokesmen have laid great stress on the opposition of the Moslem community, as voiced by the Moslem League, to the formation of a federal government for India in which Hindus would command a majority. Rather than participate in such a government, the League demands "Pakistan"—namely, the partition of India into separate Moslem and Hindu states. The British therefore maintain that until the Congress and the League arrive at a compromise on this issue, a central government for India is impossible.

Undoubtedly, the intransigence of the Moslem League on the issue of Pakistan and the equally strong conviction on the part of the Congress leaders that India must remain united if she is to win her struggle for independence constitute a serious obstacle to further political progress. But it is also true that Mr. Jinnah's demand for partition is opposed by the majority of Indian Moslems, including many members of the League. For example, Herbert L. Matthews, writing in The New York Times, reports that it "would be hard to find any influential Punjabi who wants Pakistan," although the Punjab is one of the most important Moslem provinces without whose participation Pakistan would be meaningless. Furthermore, the Indian National Congress has always stood for the fullest self-determination for all minority groups consistent with the establishment of an effective federal government for India. It also declared, at the time of the Cripps Mission, that it could not think in terms "of compelling the people of any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will."

Thus there would seem to be grounds for compromise even between Congress and the League, although this cannot be achieved while the Congress leaders remain in prison. But we have still to consider whether the British are justified in treating the League as if it were the sole spokesman for India's Moslems—a policy which has naturally enhanced the League's prestige and encouraged Mr. Jinnah in his efforts to enhance his own political power. It is undoubtedly true that the League's following has increased during the present crisis, although no membership figures have ever been released. But there are a number of important Moslem organizations which have consistently repudiated the League and supported the Congress program. These include the All-India Momin Conference which claims to speak for some 40,000,000 members of the Momin community—largely Moslem peasants and workers; the Ahrars, an organization of tenant farmers in the Punjab; the Azad Independent Party, the leading Moslem organization in Sind; and the Krishak Praja Party, a moderate peasants' organization in Bengal. Furthermore, the Jamaiat-ul-Ulema, an organization of Moslem divines, has always supported the Congress—a fact which suggests that religious differences are not the real basis of the conflict between the Congress and the League. In short, the League does not have the support of the Moslem peasants and workers in so far as they are organized. It remains what it has always been—an organization to promote the interests of wealthy, conservative Moslem landlords who oppose the agrarian and social reforms sponsored by Congress.

So long as the British government remains adamant in its refusal to allow the formation of an Indian National Government, so long may Mr. Jinnah be expected to remain intransigent. But competent observers in India report that if the British were willing to call for the formation of such a government and offer it real power, it would be politically impossible for any leader or party in India to refuse to join it.

Another argument used to support the contention that the Indian people are not ready for self-rule centers around the personality and beliefs of Gandhi. Gandhi has taken an openly defeatist stand on the war and opposed India's participation in it. Therefore, the British hold that it is impossible to contemplate giving power to a government over which he could exercise a dominant influence. Furthermore, they maintain that Gandhi's action in calling for a civil-disobedience campaign last August, regardless of its effect on the war, is proof that the Congress Party cannot be trusted to participate in Indian political life for the duration of the

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war. It should be borne in mind that Gandhi's pacifist views are not shared by the great majority of the Congress membership, and were openly repudiated on several occasions when the Congress Party pledged full support for the war, provided Indians were given a responsible share in organizing the war effort. The Indian nationalist movement as a whole has developed a militant and progressive outlook which is intolerant of Gandhi's pacifism and does not share his opposition to industrial and scientific progress.

By refusing to accept the Congress offers of cooperation in the war, and by branding the entire movement as defeatist and even pro-Axis, the British authorities have tied the hands of such sincere and militant anti-fascists as Nehru and Azad, and enabled Gandhi to capitalize on their bitterness and frustration. But there is every reason to believe that if the Indian people were allowed to express their sincere anti-fascist sentiments in positive action, Gandhi's defeatist philosophy could cease to carry the slightest weight in the nationalist movement. In fact, if the Indian people were to be mobilized for war under a government of their own leaders, many of the other alleged obstacles to unity might also be largely overcome. The formation of an Indian people's army for guerrilla warfare in support of the regular troops would certainly do much to weaken religious animosities, for men fighting side by side would soon begin to think as Indians first, and Hindus or Moslems second—the essential approach for the solution of India's future problems. Similarly, if India's political leaders were absorbed in the tasks of organizing India's civilian war effort, expanding industrial and food production, etc., religious as well as other conflicting issues would tend to fade into the background.

Mobilization for war purposes would have a salutary effect on another alleged obstacle to Indian unity —the Hindu caste system. The caste system, and particularly Untouchability, undoubtedly constitute a festering sore on the Indian body politic, which can only be completely removed when India develops a modernized economy and throws off the burden of ignorance, religious superstition and economic backwardness that have combined to keep the system in force. Already the rigidities of caste have been weakened in many parts of the country as a result of increased railway travel, the influence of progressive social and political ideas and the growth of modern industries.

We have still to consider one of the most serious obstacles to the attainment of Indian unity and freedom, namely, the existence of the Indian Princes, who rule one-third of India's territory and one-quarter of her population, and whose autocratic powers are guaranteed protection by treaties with the British Crown. This guarantee was repeated in the Cripps offer, which stipulated that the Princes should be allowed to appoint their representatives to the Constituent Assembly which was to draft the constitution for the new Indian Union, and that if the Princes did not wish to join that union they might retain their present relationship to the British Crown.

However, the Indian States are so interlocked with the provinces of British India that no workable system of administration could be evolved without their inclusion in the Indian Federation. But if they joined as autocrats and British puppets, they would inevitably influence the new constitution in a reactionary direction that would be unacceptable to the majority of the Indian people, including their own subjects. On the other hand, if they chose to remain outside, they would continue to constitute "friendly fortresses" from which their British protectors could exercise a controlling power over the affairs of the Indian Union. Thus so long as Britain stands behind the princes, protecting their feudal, autocratic rights with her armed power, independence for India is a meaningless phrase.

Indian nationalists insist that the states should be represented in the Constituent Assembly by delegations elected by the people of the states. This could easily be achieved if the British government were to inform the Princes that the autocratic character of their rule is at variance with the objectives for which the United Nations are fighting; that they should prepare for entrance into the new Indian Union by enfranchising their subjects and conceding civil rights comparable to those prevailing in the province of British India; and, finally, that no Prince who disregards these suggestions can expect British support if his subjects rebel against him.

It is, of course, true that a self-governing India will face many difficult problems. Her leaders must deal with industrial backwardness and a primitive, overburdened agricultural system; with the exploitation of the peasants by parasitic landlords and usurers; with illiteracy, ignorance and disease; and with the obstruction of ancient religious customs and reactionary groups to measures for social and economic reform. None of these problems constitutes a legitimate barrier to Indian independence. For they will never be adequately dealt with by a foreign bureaucratic government whose chief concern is to maintain law and order, and which has no interest in undertaking the difficult tasks of social reform and the scientific development of India's resources for the benefit of her own people. Such a government can never oppose British vested interests on the one hand or Indian reactionaries on the other. Only a strong Indian government, trusted by the people, would be able or willing to tackle these basic problems and uproot the traditional customs and beliefs which militate against India's social and economic progress.

KATE L. MITCHELL

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Whitewashing the Patent System

THE PATENT INTEREST has just handed itself a grand toot on its own trumpet—and has disguised its noise as that of the Government. For this make-believe you may blame, if you will, FDR; for he signed the order creating a National Patent Planning Commission and put his name to its list of members. But the Executive Office operates largely by delegation, in this case the Secretary of Commerce.

The Executive Order starts off with a couple of high-minded "whereases." It then institutes a "comprehensive survey of the American patent system." The avowed purpose is "to increase commerce . . . provide employment . . . utilize industrial facilities." To such practical ends the inquiry is to be entrusted to persons "familiar with the problems of science, industry, agriculture, labor and the consumer."

The membere of the commission must be representative; yet its members had to be patent-minded. As the member for industry, the credentials of Owen Young are beyond question. He comes from General Electric, a corporation built upon the patent grant. For agriculture, Chester Davis will do; official posts concerned with food have doubtless made him a quasi-farmer. A slight cloud hangs over the competence of Charles Kettering. He is an inventor of a sort; but he happens to be better known as an executive of General Motors than as an eminent man of science. Edward McGrady still bears the taint of the trade union; but his, as the voice of labor, is tuned to an *ex-post-facto* key—for he belongs to the high command of the Radio Corporation of America. As for Francis Gaines, a series of telephone calls to persons prominent in the consumers' movement reveals no one who has ever heard of their representative. But no one can deny that Gaines is a consumer.

After a year and a half the National Patent Planning Commission has brought forth an eleven-page report. A third of the text is given to telling what it is going to tell and the last two pages are devoted to telling what it has "done tole." The evidence piled up by congressional committees has been "consulted"; for in a single line the report says so. The Temporary National Economic Committee, which made an exhaustive investigation of the subject, rates a bare mention. A mass of facts, analyses and documents are ignored. Articles of faith are set down; words are not wasted upon reasons; reality is magically waved away.

We learn that "in no serious instance" have private rights in technology interfered with the war effort. A specific inquiry to the War and Navy Departments—whether by postcard, questionnaire, or telephone call, we are not told—cleared that one up. The Bone and Truman Committees have named products, exhibited documents, opened the record to all who can read—and found to the contrary. It seems to follow that the cases of steel, dyestuffs, magnesium, optical goods, tungsten carbide, ammunition and synthetic rubber are not "serious instances." An Axis control of the patent held up atabrine for months, while our soldiers lacked the medicine with which to battle malaria. Even now, because of the patent monopoly, this synthetic substitute for quinine is far from full production. And in the South Pacific mosquitos are more deadly than Japanese bullets.

The report is focused upon the patent grant; it has little concern with the patent system. It says nothing of how a privilege, intended as a reward to the inventor, has become an instrument of monopoly. There is no mention of "drag-net" patents, "blocking" patents, "fencing" patents, and other devices commonly employed to stop research, take science into captivity, close the doors of industrial opportunity and fortify large corporate estates against every hazard. The report is silent about the use of the patent license to restrict production, divide markets, maintain price structures and establish private government over industry. It makes no reference to corporate legislation, the usurpation of the regulatory power of the state, the resort to the courts to discipline the bad boy who will not obey the law of the trade. It ignores private international "treaties," by which Axis companies have employed their equities in technology to paralyze American production of strategic materials.

As befits an official document, the NPPC's report affects an objective attitude and parades a harmless reform. A patent issued by mistake should be subject to recall—no one can object to that. A register should be set up, where a patent-owner can proclaim his willingness to issue licenses on reasonable terms—that can do no harm. If the health of the public is at stake, the owner should be compelled to grant licenses—but who shall say? The report lodges the power, not as you would expect with the Public Health Service, but with the Commissioner of Patents. The term of the grant, fixed in horseback days, is now seventeen years; the report, rising to the tempo of modern life, would assign it a period of twenty years from the date of application. And in instances a span of twenty-two years is permitted. This is more than five times as long as is tolerated by private agreement in Mr. Kettering's automobile industry.

The report bravely and vaguely reaches aloft for common criteria of all that can be invented. It does not presume to say whether the standards of the courts are too high or those of the Patent Office too low. All it does is to enlarge the power of the Patent Office at

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the expense of the courts. It seeks uniformity through a single tribunal to hear all appeals. For this task it selects its house judiciary, the current Court of Customs and Patent Appeals. This body now meets the problem on its lowest level, listens to disappointed inventors and attempts to discover invention where even the Patent Office cannot find it. It proposes a public counsel not—as the Lucas bill does—to guard the common storehouse of technical knowledge, but to defend privvate grants improvidently issued. Finally, it proposes that all agreements through which patents are given effect shall be registered. This slip of the pen points to all the reality of patent abuses so carefully kept out of the report.

A docket of puzzles remains. How does a special interest manage to borrow the auspices of the President to hand itself a grand recommendation? Why should the government spend $75,000—which is $6,818.18 per page—to produce a report which anyone, given the right slant, could click off in a couple of hours? Why is a task like this entrusted to persons who haven't the slightest interest in—or capacity for—objective inquiry? Did any one of the five master the evidence without knowledge of which he had no right to speak? What business has the Commissioner of Patents to serve as Executive Secretary in such an act of special pleading? How did Conway P. Coe become so befuddled as to lend the sanctions of his public office to so predatory a group? How much of all Washington is like that? And, finally, what questions were in the President's mind when he passed the document along with the ironic line, "for the information of Congress?" POTOMACUS

Life in the Armed Forces[1]

MARYSVILLE and the red-clay northern California country surrounding Camp Beale were beautiful in February in the rain, when we were transferred there from Fort Ord. Apricot trees blossomed in colorful daintiness amidst grass that was so green it had a painted look. But Camp Beale's drab barracks are situated in a swamp of red clay. We set heartily to work to level the morass, to lay gravel sidewalks, in addition to slogging our way through twenty miles of foot-clinging mud, under full packs, several times a week. We are infantrymen. We are self-disciplined and eager to be efficient soldiers. We are Mount Mayon's men—of the First Filipino Infantry, United States Army.

And we were happy men. The long ordeal of Bataan had purified our patriotism, and had taught the American people to see the loyalty that we have always given to American ideals—we thought.

My friend, Sgt. Julian Pilar, was among those noncoms and privates who were successful in getting that treasured pass on the first Sunday of our Camp Beale stay. First in their minds was the plan to have a good dinner, a big steak or some rice and *adobo*, and to see the sights of this new town.

Sergeant Pilar and his friends decided on a steak. They entered a nice-looking restaurant, sat down and waited, but no one came to serve them. They waited half an hour. They were all very hungry because they had had only pork and beans at camp the night before. So finally Pilar got up and asked for service. He was told brusquely, "We don't serve Filipinos here."

They thought there must be some mistake. But evidence of deliberate intent increased at the bus station. It always takes four or five hours' waiting to get a bus back to Camp Beale, and that was time enough to learn that all the 500 Filipino soldiers who had been on pass that day were still hungry. They had been refused service in all the restaurants of Marysville. They wore the United States uniform with proud attention to all details of military appearance; they were sober and behaved properly. But their skins were brown. Some had tried to attend movies and had been either refused admittance or segregated in fifth-class seats. Those whose wives had come to visit them sent their families away on the next bus—they had to, there was no hotel that would give them a place to stay.

It did not surprise those of us from California as much as it did the eastern Pintos. We of California had never really believed that Americans would change their stripes. We had been happy in San Luis Obispo and Salinas, the towns nearest our previous stations—so surprised and happy to find that since we were made a part of the United States Army we had simultaneously become component parts of America by being granted the right to apply for citizenship—so surprised to find democracy really function. We were happy in these towns to find ourselves served in all restaurants cheerfully, to be welcomed in hotels without scowls or sky-scrapering of prices. We thought a little breathlessly that they had all come true—all the golden dreams our parents had of this Land of Promise.

On that Sunday in February in Marysville we knew we had been looking at another mirage of democracy, that the reality was a gruesome thing.

Some of us thought we could escape race prejudice by going to Sacramento, but there it was even worse. In San Francisco, Filipino soldiers on pass were unable to find a shop that would cut their hair at any price.

[1] This is one of a series of articles and sketches submitted in our Soldiers' Prose competition. These are paid for at our regular rates and there is also a special prize for the best entry submitted during each calendar month.—THE EDITORS

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But we are in the army now. The army will go to bat for us. Our Colonel Offley does battle with anyone who attacks us as soldiers or as people. Our Tagalog-speaking American Colonel knows us well. So, together with his aides, he went to call on the Marysville Chamber of Commerce, and there he laid down the law of co-operation with the army—or else.

Then the merchants and the restaurant proprietors and the movie houses changed their tune. We are served in the café, we sit in the theatres without segregation; we are even allowed in hotels. But the soul of our enjoyment is gone. We know that in their hearts these people are hating and ridiculing us, laughing at our brown skins. We honor our Colonel for his good efforts on our behalf, but as much as we can we stay away from these towns which hate built, and we hope we will soon be gone from this land of double-talk.

For months now, the Intelligence department of the First Filipino Infantry, under the supervision of Captain Guerrero, a close friend and schoolmate of Mr. Hoover of the FBI, has been busy investigating the records of all of us preparatory to sending to Washington our citizenship applications.

But Marysville has tarnished the golden privilege of citizenship. There has been much discussion in our barracks as to whether it has any meaning for us.

My friend Pfc. José Trinidad said, "What good would it do to become citizens of America if we are still brown-skin inferiors? For me, I would rather not. My refusal does not show disrespect for all the idealistic things America stands for—because Bataan has already shown that Filipinos and Americans fought and died side by side for those things. We of Filipino regiments likewise are ready to die for those high ideals, whether or not we are citizens of the United States."

I said, "You are not being fair to America when you think that race-prejudiced northern California is the whole of the United States. We are mountain climbers for our good name in America. We must take such toe-holds as we can get. And this citizenship is a toe-hold for our betterment in America and for democracy's progress."

But even as I argued with my friend, I remembered that as a citizen I would still be denied the right legally to marry my American wife, my comrade and sweetheart for five years now. As far as marriage is concerned I still belong to an "inferior race."

But our First Sergeant settled the argument that had raged in our company barracks. He said, "If you don't want to be American citizens, you'll do K. P. the rest of your life. I personally guarantee that."

So on February 20, 1943, the first of us whose investigations had been completed were made citizens in a mass public ceremony. We stood proudly in a V formation on the parade ground at Camp Beale. High-ranking army officers praised us as soldiers. Life-magagine photographers snapped us as we saluted the American flag. Capt. Chandler Sprague was master of ceremonies. He said in part, ". . . Fine-looking, well disciplined Filipino soldiers. They become officially *now what they have long been in their hearts* . . . Americans."

Solemnly we took the oath of allegiance. We are prepared to shed our heart's blood to keep faith with you. We wonder if you will give us the same high-octane loyalty.

PFC. MANUEL BUAKEN

Carlton Hayes Returns to the Fold

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT is keenly sensitive to the claims of history. He has not only built a valuable library at Hyde Park to speed the researchers on their way, but more than any recent President, even including Woodrow Wilson, he has appointed historians to represent the United States in important foreign countries. At the very beginning of his administration, he sent Claude Bowers, the chronicler of Jeffersonianism, as envoy to the ill fated Republic of Spain; he defied the triumphant Nazis by appointing Professor William E. Dodd of the University of Chicago as Ambassador to Germany, and last year he dispatched Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University as Ambassador to Spain.

Between them, these missions sum up the immediate issues of our day. Through Bowers and Dodd, the President underlined the tradition of liberal democracy. How the Ambassador to Germany stormed the fortress of Hitler with a ringing affirmation of liberal principles is still a vivid memory. In appointing Professor Hayes, did the President mean to complete the cycle by exposing the doubts that gnaw at liberalism? Or was he unaware that the Ambassador to Spain had long ago begun to question the liberal democratic tradition?

The recent utterances of the Ambassador have made his political philosophy a matter of public concern. Last December Dictator Franco, in his periodical attack on the democracies, announced that liberalism was an antiquated prejudice of the nineteenth century, that adult suffrage had served to arouse the dangerous masses, that the choice today lay between fascism, preferably of the Spanish variety, and a "barbarous" communism—and so on, in regulation Fascist style. The Ambassador soon returned the compliment, as the late William E. Dodd could never have done, by asserting that the United Nations were interested in governments that could assure "a continuity of traditional law and order"—a blanket condition which might

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cover a curried and "moderate" fascism. Americans, he went on, love liberty but they are not "necessarily sympathetic with everything which has gone by the name of liberalism, especially with that sectarian liberalism which in parts of Europe during the last century hardly disguised a selfish and pagan materialism." Americans revere rather "the liberty of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, based on medieval Christian tradition and reinforced by New World life and experience." Then, last February, the Ambassador commended the "obvious success" of Spain in developing "a peace economy" and hailed her "vigorous economic renaissance" under the "wise direction of the [Franco] government."

No wonder public opinion, which had at first welcomed his appointment, was embarrassed by such deference to a brutal regime; but those who had followed his intellectual evolution were pained rather than surprised. It was common knowledge that Professor Hayes had signed a pro-Franco petition during the Spanish civil war, which, more than any event in recent years, had drawn the irreducible limits of liberalism. It was less widely known, however, that he has long been undergoing a change of heart regarding the institutions of liberal democracy. His story is important not only because he speaks for the country at a crucial moment and place, but also because it is, in essentials, the story of a prominent segment of American, and indeed of world opinion, which has become uncertain of its liberal bearings.

Carlton Hayes is a product of the school of "New History" which flourished at Columbia University early in the century. Under the inspiration of teachers like James Harvey Robinson and Charles A. Beard, young historians abandoned the old political approach and developed a liberal and socio-cultural synthesis. History became a mosaic of cultural, social and economic factors. It was presented as such by Professor Hayes in "A Political and Social History of Modern Europe," which became, for almost a generation after its publication in 1916, the Bible of the college student. The past was evoked in a variety of colors and judged from the vantage-point of progress; and progress meant enlightened reform at home, peaceful policies abroad. The intellectuals of the time were particularly disturbed by the problems of imperialism and war, and the contribution of Professor Hayes to the cause of international peace was a prolonged study of nationalism. The subject was well suited to express his abiding interest in the fate of minorities, his search for world order, and his devotion to tolerance and reasonableness. In the "History" therefore, and more elaborately in his "Essays on Nationalism" (1926), he laid bare the passions of chauvinism. He excoriated extreme nationalism as a source of spiritual arrogance, a rationalization for military and imperial adventure and the last refuge of social scoundrelism and reaction.

The "New History" was not a cloistered muse, and her devotee taught also by example. Joseph Freeman recalls in "An American Testament" that when Beard resigned in 1917 on the issue of academic freedom, Hayes dismissed his students, who then attended a protest meeting which had been forbidden by the university authorities. The following year, he joined Robinson, John Dewey and Thorstein Veblen in an appeal for funds to defend IWW leaders on trial for conspiracy to obstruct the war. The group felt that the charge concealed an attack upon unionism and wished to make it "possible for the defense to present fully the industrial evils underlying the IWW revolt against intolerable conditions of labor." Professor Hayes long opposed American involvement in the last war. As late as February, 1917, after the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare and the breach of diplomatic relations with Germany, he proposed, as an alternative to war, a league of neutrals to safeguard the freedom of the seas. Later and for years to come he was a warm supporter of the League of Nations.

Hayes has a rich vein of sardonic humor and indulged in biting "objective" descriptions of his victims. It was but "natural," he would remark, that the self-made manufacturer should accept success as a return upon his virtue and should feel that "if others had been as sober, industrious and intelligent as himself, they, too, would have been wealthy, respected and good citizens." A pungent satire also pervaded his very popular and dramatic lectures to the undergraduates. In the wider arena of public life, the historian fought the good fight for social betterment. Before the New Deal, arguing for old-age-pension legislation in The Commonweal, he wrote in characteristic vein:

> I must say I am tired of attempts to prejudice American Catholics against any and every social reform which happens to be supported by "pink Socialist" or "red Communist groups." We would do well to follow Leo XIII in social questions, rather than to flee Karl Marx. If Marx agrees in any particular with the Pope, it won't be bad for the Pope, and it may be good for Marx.

For nearly thirty years after he became a student at Columbia in 1900, the work of Hayes, while marked by an emphasis on national and religious factors, remained fairly rooted in the liberal tradition. He saw modern history as "a progress toward ever greater liberty, democracy, social betterment and scientific control of nature." But then, sometime in the middle twenties, another note began to appear in his writing. Thenceforth Western civilization was described as having moved backward perhaps more than forward ever since the sixteenth century. The reason for the new tone is not altogether clear, but his subsequent work testifies that his faith in progress was severely shaken.

The change became apparent in a curious shift. Professor Hayes turned from a critique of ultra-nationalism

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to an exposé of internationalism! He developed a suspicion that most internationalists were unconscious or concealed nationalists and that they succumbed to chauvinism under pressure. In his "Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism" (1931), he classified the various forms of that movement. He included more or less professed nationalists like Fichte and Burke and chauvinists like Maurras, d'Annunzio and Mussolini; but he also included men and movements generally regarded as internationalist or cosmopolitan in spirit. Humanitarianism was caught betraying "humanitarian nationalism," Jacobinism, "Jacobin nationalism," and economic liberalism, "liberal nationalism." Some of his students busied themselves in pursuing the implications of this thesis and from a long array of doctoral dissertations men like Robespierre and Jaurès emerged as unconscious or virtual nationalists.

More significant perhaps was Professor Hayes's dualistic attitude toward the liberal democratic tradition. As it has evolved on this continent, that tradition consists of two related parts: a set of mechanisms designed to safeguard man against absolutisms, aristocracies and mythologies, whether old or new—mechanisms such as legal guarantees of the individual, a broad suffrage and secular political and educational institutions; and a steady confidence in the worth of man and in his capacity to become more enlightened. Now, in his recent writings, the historian has called into serious question secular mechanisms and also that confidence without which liberal democracy must eventually wither and die. As in the case of internationalism, his method has been that of reinterpretation. He has argued in his latest book, "A Generation of Materialism," for example, that toward the end of the last century the liberal movement underwent a vital deterioration. For a long time, it had been growing increasingly "ecumenical": embracing men of good will from all classes and embodying a generous idealism. And then, "something like a calamity befell it in the sudden upsurge of a special sect of liberals," whose "main props were bourgeois promoters of big business." Henceforth liberalism, yielding to the materialism of the money-grubbers, became politically corrupt and narrowly urban and bourgeois, and developed a powerful addiction to technology, popular education, civil marriage and other *secularizing* tendencies. This is the theory of "sectarian liberalism" in which its author has confounded a good part of the liberal democratic tradition with a quite distinct and more transient current, the anarchic individualism of the laissez-faire school. Surely the secular attitude is much older and broader than free trade. By lumping them together, is Professor Hayes rejecting them both? He proclaims his adherence to an "ecumenical" liberalism, but at a closer glance it seems that what he has in mind is almost indistinguishable from traditional religion. "'Science,' secularization, industrialization, liberalism, Marxism and nationalism" are to him merely symptoms of "a grave religious crisis" which "poses the fundamental question whether European or Western civilization can endure if cut off from its historic Christian roots."

Years ago, in his widely read "History," Professor Hayes had described political democracy as bespeaking "a certain faith in human nature, a spirit commanding 'the rights of the people to be observed,' a profound belief that all men should have, so far as possible, equal opportunities and equal privileges. . . ." He then thought of the democratic spirit as rooted in Christianity, the French Revolution and the grievances of the Industrial Revolution. The democratic movement profited from town life, a cheap press and popular education. When he recast his college text in the early thirties, under the title "A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe," this interpretation was quite gone. A profound disillusionment, bordering on cynicism, regarding the values of liberal democracy was apparent throughout. This disillusionment became more explicit in his periodical writing. Democracy, once seen as broadly rooted in three great movements, now appeared to be but "a vogue" which "is passing more quickly than it arose." Finally, Professor Hayes, following Ortega y Gasset, has founded totalitarianism upon "the revolt of the masses." He argued before the American Philosophical Society several years ago that dictators formerly came from the upper ranks of society, and so displayed some cultivated moderation, whereas contemporary dictators have risen from the masses and so display a peculiarly violent fanaticism and obscurantism. The aristocracies and plutocracies of the past "at least . . . had a tolerance for the masses which these under the new dictatorships [the masses, mind you, not the dictators!] seldom evince for the classes." In short, the trouble is that today the masses and their leaders are aspiring to direct rule.

Our Ambassador at Madrid is thus one of those Americans, neither few in number nor unimportant in influence, whose liberal democratic vision has become considerably blurred. To a certain extent, of course, we have all been succumbing to the profound disillusionment which has become endemic since the First World War; and surely our century has revealed serious weaknesses in society and traditional thought. But the real issue is whether we shall change and act in the spirit of that vision or shall turn our back on it altogether. Professor Hayes has traveled a long way from the attitudes of his youth and early maturity. His latter-day philosophy has not been sufficiently and clearly defined. Perhaps his views are still in transition and he has not yet made the final decision. The direction of their drift, however, is already definite enough. It is a constant drift away from those principles and instrumentalities which together have made up the liberal democratic tradition of the Western world.

SOLOMON F. BLOOM

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Washington Notes

Wealth of the Nation

A COUPLE OF MONTHS ago Secretary of the Interior Ickes computed the wealth of the United States in natural and material resources and concluded that the average American is potentially a rich individual. To Congressman Dies that was all ridiculous theory, smacking of socialism, and he frolicked through a good long speech in the House ridiculing Mr. Ickes.

A few days later Secretary of Commerce Jones made a radio speech to tell the American people what a tremendous industrial expansion had taken place in this country in the last three years. Mr. Jones did not suggest, as Secretary Ickes had suggested, that this might be wealth in the hands of the people, so Mr. Dies was not disturbed. Actually, however, the wealth Mr. Jones talked about already is the common property of the American people. "The title to most of these properties," the Secretary of Commerce said, "is in the government."

In the last three years the American people, through their government, have spent about $25,000,000,000 in building new plants and facilities. They now own about 1,500 plants. They own a big steel mill in Utah which cost $190,000,000, and 120 smaller steel plants and additions to plants. They own nine plants for the production of aluminum and 45 plants for the fabrication of aluminum. The American people have title to 90 percent of the total magnesium production of the country. They own 521 plants for the production of aircraft, aircraft engines, parts and accessories. They own 20 plants which manufacture high-octane aviation gasoline.

The recently completed "Big Inch" pipeline from Longview, Texas, to Philadelphia and New York is their property. They own almost half of the nation's vast machine-tool manufacturing facilities. They have title through their government to almost a billion and a half dollars' worth of "temporary" war houses. The great national debt is partly the people's investment in these new industrial facilities.

Just before Congress went home for the summer recess it made a vital decision as to what to do with part of this enormous public investment. Without a dissenting vote an amendment to the Lanham Act was adopted to require the demolition at the end of the war of all so-called "temporary" war housing—the entire billion and a half dollars' worth. The amendment provides that the National Housing Agency administrator "shall, as promptly as may be practicable and in the public interest, remove all housing under his jurisdiction which is of a temporary character . . . and constructed under the provision of this act."

This amendment was written into the act authorizing an additional appropriation for war housing. It was the price that had to be paid to get the support of real estate and construction interests. At the beginning of the war private interests had prevailed upon Congress to require that most war housing be of a temporary nature (the difference in cost is slight). That was the first step to protect the real-estate market. Now Congress has taken the second step. The investment which the American people have made in wartime housing is thus capriciously treated by an irresponsible Congress. Obviously, some of the temporary housing should be pulled down after the war to prevent the creation of ghost cities or new slums, but the wholesale demolition of all these houses is nothing short of criminal.

The question of what to do with all the war plants and facilities owned by the government is of paramount importance, and a key to post-war policy. As yet the American people do not seem to have realized the magnitude of the problem or its significance. But the $25,000,000,000 investment they have made is at stake. Many of these plants, like the houses, will be destroyed to prevent competition with established industry—unless the people decide otherwise. Some plants, if the War and Navy Departments become the final arbiters, will be sold to private industry for a song.

There is no easy solution. Industry has an option on many of the plants and industry should have many of them —at a price fair to industry and to government. But should industry be allowed to have them unless it can see its way clear to operate them? In other words, should industry be allowed to buy the plants and then not operate them?

There is no central government agency that is devoting a considerable part of its attention to this basic problem facing the American people. The National Resources Planning Board had done a fair amount of study on the subject (and that is one reason it met an untimely death in Congress), but its conclusions were never published. Lindsay C. Warren, the Comptroller General of the United States and a competent watchdog of the public interest, is studying the problem at the direction of the House and Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, but his first concern is with the termination of contracts.

In a bill passed in June the House provided for the creation of a joint congressional committee "to undertake promptly a full and complete study and investigation of the types, quantities, values, location, and custody of war materials and other tangible property, both real and personal, acquired, held or utilized for military purposes, which may reasonably be expected to be in the possession or under control of any agency at the time of cessation of hostilities in the present war, and no longer needed for such purposes." The Senate does not appear to be very much interested in the creation of such a committee, for it has the George Committee on post-war economic policy and planning, which, however, has not yet concerned itself with this vital question.

As one responsible official said the other day: "One school of thought in the War Department wants to turn over the Treasury to war profiteers so that they may further loot it." This official said that he believed war contractors should be protected against any reasonable loss which the conversion of their plants might cause them, but he did not interpret this to mean that they could have the key to the Treasury.

There are so many types of Defense Plant Corporation contracts that it is not now possible to establish an overall policy on the disposal of government-owned plants. But it is not too early for the American people to demand a full investigation of the subject. The men in the position of power in the government today are not the ones who will always think of the public interest first.

Washington T. R. B.

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Seeing Zero

ONE OF THE THINGS wrong with movies today is that the images movies use to show their stories are very dull, unimaginative and conventional simply as pictures. The producers and directors spend all their time figuring out a novel story idea, constructing a series of events which will adequately tell that idea, directing the players so that they won't look odd or silly, getting the dialogue to sparkle, the leading lady to look glamorous, the sets to seem real—then the thing is shot with the imagination of a cow. Either you have been inside the same room, at the same angle, with the same people a hundred times, or the amount of stuff to look at in proportion to the amount of stuff to hear is about one to six, or, finally, there is nothing put in the props, costuming or acting that will intrigue your eye enough to keep it focused on the story. The story goes along in the dialogue or by the bare resumé that is got from a related progression of events. In contrast to this, whenever memorable scenes are recalled, they are always scenes which provided images of a special nature. When Hitchcock's adventurer finds himself between the audience at a political meeting and the police, when Clair's funny-faced nature lover lies majestically on the spring grass, gazing up at a flower that then breaks into song, when Wellman's cowboys discuss the painting of a nude woman in a saloon, the pictorial content is vital and rich enough to seem the exact point of the idea.

The dismaying spread which exists between the nature of the script and the nature of the pictures used to show that script is well exemplified by Ernst Lubitsch's latest film, "Heaven Can Wait." The movie undertakes to show the more daring escapades in the life of a wolf, and while showing them, to point the moral that heaven smiles on such a life because it affords so much pleasure both to the wolf and to the ladies. Whether Lubitsch wanted it that way or not, Henry Van Cleve is a sheep in wolf's clothing. Even if you take the numerous hints that are dropped about his pursuits for their most licentious possibilities you will still feel he led a mild and familial existence. But even his small handful of escapades are shown in a blank movie way. In retrospect the most devilish thing Henry did was to go out with the family's French maid while he was still in short pants and still Dicky Moore: but all we see of this is little Henry in bed the next day with a hang-over. Midway in his happy married life his wife, Linda Darnell, leaves him because of his philandering. His philandering is shown by his wife's confronting him with a bill for an expensive bracelet which she had never seen. As descriptions of a man's love life, these meager images are about as informative as a picture of the Davis Cup would be in telling the story of the Davis Cup Matches. The remaining events on "Heaven Can Wait's" string must seem academic stuff to you—the society musicale in which a shrieking and ugly soprano is singing and being interrupted; the visit of the father to the gold digger who is milking his son and his attempt to buy her off; the hero's illness and his getting sicker with his ugly day nurse and reviving with his beautiful night nurse; the hostile man and wife at the dinner table and the table so long and cluttered they needn't look at each other and can communicate with each other by way of the waiter. Academic as all these incidents are they are made even more so by being visualized with the zest of the Dormouse. That is, to get the camera off ten or fifteen feet, to center the people square and at eye level and then watch them discourse.

Besides the stringency of Hollywood censorship, there are other reasons for the pictorial sterility of this movie or any of Hollywood's recent products. Wherever movie making approaches the efficiency, speed, and volume of the factory, its visualization is set before it reaches the shooting stage and necessarily frozen to certain conventional poses, angles and ideas. There is less creating off the cuff, fewer accidents of camera angles, lighting, movement or pantomime occur, environment is nullified, and players are made to look more and more alike. It is startling to recall the movie "Citizen Kane" and see how little effect it had on Hollywood. It was made with the one driving desire to construct each scene as a vigorous, new visual experience. Photographically and orally it was the most acrobatic American movie since Griffith, and whatever its success or lack of it in anything except method, the method itself demonstrated shatteringly the visual sterility of the standard Hollywood film.

MANNY FARBER

Science and Technology

BATTERED, SCARRED *and dirty from eighteen months* beneath the surface of the Hudson River, the Normandie is afloat again. Thus ends the hardest part of the greatest salvage job in history—an epic story of almost incredible human courage and persistency against overwhelming odds.

The Normandie has been rechristened by the United States Navy the U. S. S. Lafayette and she is so described in all official documents. She is so much better known by her older name, however, that I propose to use it in this account of her heroic rescue.

It is pointless now to argue about who was responsible for the fire which took place upon February 9, 1942, except to say there is no evidence of sabotage. Her grand lounge contained 1,100 bales of inflammable life preservers which were to be distributed throughout the ship. A workman was using a acetylene blowtorch and a spark set the life preservers on fire. Fanned by a fierce northwest wind, the flames spread quickly through the promenade, boat and sun decks and the bridge. The New York City fire department poured many tons of water into the superstructure of the ship. Twelve hours later she rolled over to port and sank.

It was a sorry spectacle that confronted the naval officers and other experts in salvage next morning when they looked at her. The vast hulk lay on its side about one-half out of water. She was completely flooded; the tide rose and fell within the hull as it did outside, and if this had not been the case, the pressure of the water might have done great damage. Her bow was toward shore and the first third of the ship lay on a rocky ledge at a depth of about sixty-five feet. The remaining two-thirds rested on mud and there was some fear that the ship would break in two at the point where the ledge ended and the mud began.

Everyone loves a ship; the sinking of the Normandie was far more of a calamity to the country than an equivalent

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loss in the form of a skyscraper or a grain elevator would have been. Almost at once, about 5,000 persons sat down and wrote to the navy explaining just how the ship could be righted. These letters were carefully read but proved almost entirely valueless. The ideas they contained that were new were not good; those that were good, were not new. One common suggestion was for the use of pingpong balls, which are notably buoyant in water. Send down thousands of pingpong balls in crates, these letters said; fasten them to the side of the ship, and she'll come up. A similar suggestion brought forward by many had to do with ice cubes, to be frozen under water and attached to the vessel. Empty tin cans, sealed shut, were also suggested; so was the use of blimps overhead, with grappling hooks let down to the hull. The navy soon discovered that every mention of the ship in the press brought a new flood of letters and also clogged all telephone wires; and at one point it was reluctantly obliged to ask the newspapers not to mention the ship for the time being.

The navy requested a distinguished board of experts to look over the Normandie and then answer these questions: was it possible to raise her? If so, should she then be scrapped? The experts in due course answered as follows: 1. Yes. 2. Wait and see.

There was never any real doubt in the minds of these experts as to how she should be raised. The plan is known as "controlled pumping," and is not new. What was new was the size of the job and some special difficulties, to be described in a moment. For controlled pumping, you make the greater part of the hull water-tight. You divide its interior into a series of water-tight compartments. Then you pump water, very gradually indeed, out of the submerged portion and, to the extent necessary, into the exposed portion, until the vessel slowly rolls back toward an even keel. Thereafter, at a predetermined point in your progress, you pump water out of one or both sides of the ship until she floats. In the case of the Normandie, this predetermined point was an angle of about 45 degrees or in other words, half way back to normal. The experts estimated the job would take one and a half to two years and cost $5,000,000 or $6,000,000. The shorter time estimate proved correct and the cost has been much less than was expected. (Refitting her as a transport is a separate, and expensive, job.)

Was the job worth while from the financial point of view? This is a question difficult to answer. If the hull and engines had been built in the United States instead of France they would have cost $35,000,000 to $40,000,000 thirteen years ago, when she was begun, and much more today. The navy will have a hull and engines in good condition for not more than an eighth or a seventh of that sum. Moreover, the navy has used almost no scarce materials such as a new ship would have needed. By the time she is fully equipped as a troopship, she may have cost two-thirds as much as a new troopship of the same size and speed would have done. On the other hand, nobody in his senses would set out to build a troopship of that size and type. He would build instead three ships like the Manhattan or the Washington of the United States Line. Three such ships would cost today, equipped for troops and not for peacetime service, around $45,000,000. This is at least $10,000,000 more than the Normandie job will cost in all, to say nothing of the saving on materials, labor and shipyard space.

When you come to the actual details of raising the Normandie, difficulties are encountered so huge that reason reels before the mere size of the job. For instance:

On the port side of the ship, under water, there were 356 portholes, which the navy calls airports. Many of them were open when the ship went down; none of them was built to be actually water-tight when submerged. On the average they lay sixty feet below the surface. Each of them had to be fitted with a waterproof covering, applied in almost all cases from the inside. By the time the divers were ready to go to work, the mud *inside the ship* was eight to ten feet deep, on the average.

There were also sixteen great "barn doors" or cargo ports, big enough in some cases to handle a large automobile. These also had to be fitted with water-tight covers, in mud of the same depth.

At the time the ship went over, her port side was covered with staging—platforms and scaffolding like those used by carpenters in building a house. The ship fell on this staging and broke it up like so many match sticks. Many of these stuck in through the open portholes and cargo-ports, at fantastic angles. They had to be cleared away by divers working under perhaps fifty feet of water and ten feet of mud.

All openings in the intermediate deck had to be patched. All pipelines between any two compartments—and there were thousands of them—had to be closed off.

The Normandie was fitted throughout with electric wiring insulated with spun glass. Naturally, this glass broke in thousands of places, and proved a great hazard to the divers. Particles of glass penetrated the divers' hands and arms. It could not be extracted magnetically, as steel filings can; the diver just had to wait for it to "grow out." There was also considerable danger to the divers from poisonous gases.

A ship is built strong enough to withstand the normal vicissitudes of wind and wave, but not such an operation as was contemplated for the Normandie. Therefore her hull had to be strengthened. Everything above the main promenade deck must be removed, including two masts, two complete decks and three funnels, each big enough to accommodate both tubes of the Hudson Tunnel. The promenade deck had to be shored up. All the heavy machinery in the ship had to be secured and treated against rust and other forms of deterioration, whether above water or below it. And incidentally, machinery installed within the hull for the purpose of salvage, and to be used in the process, had to be placed on platforms with a hinge at one end and pulleys at the other so that, as the ship slowly swung back to level, this machinery could remain in operation.

The water-tight bulkheads that had to be installed throughout the ship needed to be embedded in cement, most of which had to be laid under water.

In a year and a half, all this incredible job was accomplished. The work was done at top speed, always two and sometimes three shifts a day, with a total of 600 to 800 men continuously employed. If you shiver at the thought of a diver going down through fifty feet of inky black water and then burrowing ten feet farther in equally black mud, on a wintry midnight, while seven million good citizens

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slept nearby in their beds, the answer is that midnight and noon were all the same to the diver, who couldn't see what he was doing, at any time of day.

About seventy-five divers were employed continuously. Because of the unparalleled wartime demand for divers throughout the world there were not that many available. Therefore, as most people know, a school was set up on the pier alongside, and completely green men were trained, by the score, on the job. It was some of these men who went from the Normandie to North Africa, cleaned out the harbors there, and greatly advanced the date for the invasion of Sicily.

Most of the navy's salvage work is normally done by a private firm, Merritt-Chapman and Scott, one of the oldest and biggest ship-salvage companies in the world. The navy has its own supervisor of salvage, who is in charge of all such operations. Even before the Normandie lay down and rolled over in the mud, like a tired old whale, Merritt-Chapman and Scott had their hands full, and this job was therefore a special matter. While M.-C. and S. men played an important role, the navy tried to bother the firm as little as possible. It used numerous special contracts for special parts of the job.

Six men bore the brunt of the responsibility. At their head was Commodore W. A. Sullivan, USN, supervisor of salvage, since promoted, first to captain and now to commodore. It was Commodore Sullivan who started the work on the Normandie and then went to Africa, taking many of his men with him, to clear the ports of the southern Mediterranean. Next in charge was Commander (now Captain) B. E. Manseau, USN, who has been in full charge since Commodore Sullivan's departure. Lieutenant Commander C. F. Chandler, USNR, has been resident salvage officer. John I. Tooker, a leading salvage expert for Merritt-Chapman and Scott, known all over the world as Captain Tooker, has been salvage officer. Another M.-C. and S. man, M. C. Gilbert, 3rd, acted as salvage engineer. Still another, A. C. W. Siecke, was responsible for all the numerous and complicated engineering calculations.

Among these calculations was one of great importance. As the vessel started to roll as the result of pumping water out of some compartments and putting it into others, her movement would be resisted by the suction of the mud in which her giant carcass was firmly imbedded. It was absolutely necessary that this suction should not be broken suddenly, for if so, the ship would lurch to starboard with disastrous consequences. The salvage men needed to know just how rapidly they dared roll the ship without running the risk of a sudden break in the river's grip.

This, then, was the problem of the divers: they had to enter the hull above water, and thread their way through a maze of corridors and rooms, both above and below water. At a depth of forty feet or more on the average, they had to dig out and remove a mass of accumulated rubbish, some of which gave off poisonous gases, including the deadly hydrogen sulphide. Next they had to excavate eight or ten feet of mud that had oozed in from the outside. Then, in complete darkness, they had to fit water-tight patches over more than 350 portholes and 16 large cargo doors. They had to build miles of bulkheads, embedded in cement (they used 240,000 board feet of lumber). They had to handle the vast machinery of the ship's engines, both in and out of water, machinery which was never intended to tumble over to almost a 90-degree angle and stay there for eighteen months. Every diver was in imminent danger at every moment of having his air-hose cut by any one of hundreds of jagged steel edges, or by broken glass. Sometimes two or even three divers would have to go down just to protect the air-hose and life-line of another man who was doing work in a dangerous position. Some of the men also worked outside the hull.

Actually, the salvage men took out of the ship 5,000 tons of superstructure, 6,000 tons of debris and 10,000 cubic yards of mud. They removed 8,000 pounds of broken glass. They handled 4,500 separate patches, plugs and wedges. They moved, inside of the ship, and finally took out of her, 100,000 tons of water.

It was my good fortune to be one of the group who went over the Normandie the last day before the raising operation actually began, after which time no more "civilians" were permitted to go near her. It was an impressive experience to walk along the dock and see the vast gray hulk towering above us sixty feet into the air, knowing that she extended a roughly equal distance below the water. A workman busy on the big curving hull looked like a fly on an elephant. On the pier side was a long carpenter shop where all the patches and many other items used in salvage were built.

There was enormous activity on board the vessel. Workmen hurried up and down half a dozen gangplanks which went into openings in what had once been the promenade deck and was now a huge wall leaning back slightly from an absolute perpendicular. This wall was covered with instructions chalked or painted in plain English referring to work going on in the depths of the water: "Casing below water. Ready for patching. Cork yet to be removed." You can't afford mistakes due to misunderstanding, on a job like this. At one point inside the hull a huge half-circle of white was painted with numbers around the edge and over it a big red pointer, ten feet long, hung free. It indicated the exact degree to which the ship had rolled and would serve, as she rolled slowly back, to record progress exactly. Every few minutes a diver went down below to continue the work that had hardly stopped for a moment for eighteen months.

Inside the ship you were in another world. For horizontal passages we used what had been vertical walls, like those of the elevators. In any room, we walked on what had been the left-hand wall, with the former floor now rising vertically to the right.

At one point we entered the grand dining salon of the ship which will be remembered by many travelers from her years in trans-Atlantic service. It was now no more than a huge steel box, stripped down to the final skeleton, with every scrap of wood and cloth removed. It was littered with vast wooden timbers used in the salvage work and above them was a great pumping engine, supported on wires so that it could operate no matter what was the position of the ship.

To me, the most poignant thing on my inspection trip was not the ship herself but something I saw in one of the offices on the pier alongside. Here, for safekeeping, had been removed a series of great painted panels from the ship

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and each panel bore the name of a French city—Toulouse, Bordeaux, Nantes, Rennes. Looking at the names of these proud cities, now under the heel of the German invader, it suddenly seemed to me that the ship was a symbol of France herself; that the fact that she had risen from her humiliating degradation was a good omen that France too would one day rise again, proud and free. B. B.

The Bandwagon

I wish these three dancers who delighted their audiences so (and they most certainly have a personal right to choose to do that and nothing more) would turn their superior expressive talents toward a new kind of morale-building—toward portraying in their art the unconquerable heroism of a fighting people and the noble aspirations of an embattled world. Maybe the results will be less theatrical and charming—but the reward will be victory. – *From a review of a dance recital by Jane Dudley, Sophie Maslow and William Bales, in The New Masses.*

The Bible not only shaped his character. He got all his most important business ideas from it. Through these ideas—which revolutionized the whole theory of retail buying and selling, and created our modern principle of "Service"—John Wanamaker became, as President Taft once said, "the greatest merchant in America." – *From an advertisement of The American Weekly in The New York Times.*

A PLAY, NOT A THESIS, is desired. If, in prescribing such a theme, the League seems to encourage propaganda, it does so only in the sense that the greatest theatre art of all time is often the greatest human propaganda. Where speaks a more eloquent plea for the good-neighbor policy than in the purely romantic drama of "Romeo and Juliet"? – *From a circular distributed by the Pittsburgh Drama League announcing a playwriting contest.*

JAPANESE CAMPS CALLED BADLY RUN
Statement by Dies Committee Finds Internees
Themselves Decide Many Matters
– *Head and subhead in The New York Times.*

Democracy in Action

HOUSE BILL 563 has been introduced in the Legislature at Springfield by five colored representatives to eliminate or invalidate Hyde Park's Restrictive Agreements. . . .

THIS IS A VICIOUS BILL AIMED AT YOU WHICH WOULD DEPRIVE YOU OF YOUR HOME IN HYDE PARK.

It is important that we win this battle on the home front. If we lose this fight, we will suffer the loss of our neighborhood and homes, for which we are being called upon to make great sacrifices in the war effort. PROTECT YOUR RIGHTS AT HOME. – *From a release sent out by the Hyde Park (Ill.) Property Owners, Incorporated.*

That All-Out Effort

Atlantic City officials, amusement operators and boardwalk merchants appealed today to the army to abolish the coastal dim-down. Frank P. Gravatt, owner of Steel Pier and president of the Atlantic City Amusement Men's Association, said that lifting the order would enable many merchants hard hit by the war to recoup losses. – *UP dispatch from Atlantic City.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Upton Sinclair to the Indians

SIR: Your readers may be interested in the following letter I have written to two groups of Indians:

To the Bombay Progressive Writers' Association and the Upton Sinclair Society:

. . . You may be sure that I sympathize with your desire for Indian freedom. I hope that I will not seem to you a victim of imperialist propaganda if I tell you that I think the Indian people would be making a great mistake to seek freedom at the present time. There is only one goal in the world worth aiming at now, and that is the destruction of Axis despotism. Wise men who appreciate the urgency of the danger will put aside every desire and every effort which can possibly interfere with the overthrow of the German, Italian and Japanese effort at world mastery. We in the United States have learned what Japanese barbarism is, and the monstrous cruelties of which it is capable. It would do the people of India no good, but on the contrary a great deal of harm, to jump from the British frying-pan into the Japanese fire, and that is surely what would happen to you if while winning your freedom you were to handicap the efforts of the British and American armies to get supplies to China and enable the Chinese people to preserve their independent republic. It so happens that the only way we can reach China lies through India, and every person of judgment in India will lend every help possible to that effort.

It is my belief that after this war it will become possible for the democratic peoples of the world to organize an orderly world system, and then it will be possible for new experiments in freedom and self-government to begin with some prospect of success. It will be an enormously difficult task to set up institutions of self-government in a land with as many different languages as you have in India. Don't make the task any harder by trying it while the Japanese barbarians are pounding at your gates.

Monrovia, Calif. UPTON SINCLAIR

The Good (?) Old Days

SIR: Oldtimers in the liberal wing of the labor movement who went through the hectic labor political activity of the last months of World War I and the immediate post-war period must have felt a twinge of nostalgia during the reading of James Loeb's article in The New Republic of August 9. As only a cursory student of the period, I felt the striking resemblances. Those were the days, as many will recall, of labor's "reconstruction program," inspired by that of British labor, and of the formation of Labor Parties, or Farmer-Labor Parties all over the country. Even the New York City Central Labor Union re-

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flected this sentiment until a combination of reactionary AFL leadership and Tammany reorganized it into the traditional non-partisan lines.

A further similarity might be found in the fact that the sentiment for independent political activity in those days, as now, was strongest in the lower ranks of leadership of the labor movement while the higher-ups were strongly opposed to it. Then as now also there was the attempt by the Communists to capture each organization as it was set up, and to destroy those which they could not capture.

It might be worth while for Mr. Loeb and others close to the present labor political situation to study the developments of the earlier period to see how we can avoid the mistakes which led to the almost complete disappearance of the organizations of that time, and the militant spirit responsible for them as well.

New York City LAWRENCE ROGIN

The Scandal in Newsprint

SIR: I think you might be interested to see the enclosed letter which I have just sent to the editor of Editor and Publisher. The contents of the Editor and Publisher statement to which I object will I think be evident from my letter.

New York City JESSE Z. LURIE

[ENCLOSURE]

To Editor and Publisher:

Mr. Robb's full-page attack upon Mr. Hyman and myself in your issue of August 7 for our article in The New Republic on the newsprint situation was entirely unfair and unwarranted. Discounting his personal abuse, his calling us "lefties" and "mischief-makers" (though he knows nothing about us except that we write for The New Republic), what amazes us is that Mr. Robb should attempt to deny the facts of the article, most of which were obtained from the columns of Editor and Publisher. Mr. Robb and your magazine cannot, in your own polite fashion, castigate the newspaper publishers for not doing all they should to conserve vital newsprint and then attack us for doing the same thing in a less temperate manner in a magazine of general circulation. Mr. Robb cannot play prosecutor, defendant, and judge with the same set of facts.

The facts are that the newspaper industry as a whole did not comply with the 10-percent cut ordered at the beginning of this year. For the first half of the year (as reported by E and P) the American Newspaper Publishers' Association reported newsprint consumption in this country was .7 percent under the first six months of 1942 and 5.1 percent under the first six months of 1941. June, 1943, consumption was 2.8 percent *over* June, 1942, and 5.8 percent under June, 1941.

The facts are that instead of coöperating with the administration in its attempts to meet an impending shortage, many newspaper publishers and their congressional stooges (as reported in E and P) set up a hullaballoo about "freedom of the press."

The facts are that instead of attempting to cut down on circulation and advertising, both figures (as reported by E and P) have increased considerably over last year, and that one of your contributing editors, Mr. Irvin, wrote as late as your issue of June 19 under the heading "All Newspapers Should Plug Upward Trend" that newspapers should promote and publicize the increase in circulation and advertising with something he calls "zip."

The facts are that because of the shortsightedness, political bias, greed, inertia (or any other excuse or apology you wish to make) of many publishers in not carrying out the conservation orders, the shortage in newsprint has become so acute that, according to Mr. Robb, "a 15-percent cut must be accomplished without delay—or else." And the or else "is allocation of tonnage by Washington, and nobody wants that." Heaven forbid!

That, in summary, is the indictment outlined in our article in The New Republic. Despite Mr. Robb's assertion to the contrary, the whole story has not been regularly given to the public. He cites as evidence the fact that every important newspaper published the reports of the Newspaper Advisory Committee and the orders of the WPB. First, "important" newspaper is a weasel-term. Second, those reports and orders are only a small part of the story. Third, those newspapers that did publish them tended to publish them in the financial pages rather than the news pages, or, as in the case of our morning newspaper, The New York Times, buried them on the last sports page.

The indictment still stands, as it must, because the facts cannot be controverted, despite Mr. Robb's attempt to becloud the issue by his personal attack upon us and our good faith. Indeed, we suspect that what disturbed him was that we dared to reveal to the general public the same facts which were published in your trade paper. Could it be that newspapers, like any other big business, have two levels of information, one for the trade and one for general circulation and the twain are never supposed to meet?

JESSE Z. LURIE

Who Is To Blame?

SIR: I would like to take exception to Malcolm Cowley's review of Sidney Hook's essay, "The New Failure of Nerve," in the July 12 issue of The New Republic.

Mr. Cowley, in searching for the reason of liberal impotence at the present time, implies that liberalism is on the defensive because of outside factors. He says, "If the liberals are everywhere on the defensive, it is not because they are perversely metaphysical, but because they are fighting on what is, for the moment, the beaten side." He later states, "The real malady is defeat, and the remedy is a succession of victories."

To me, this unfortunate attitude typifies too many of our liberal thinkers today. It is a tendency to place the blame for their defeats upon the "reactionary Congress," "the farm bloc," "political expediency," and (worst of all) "the misinformed people." They are only partly right. Part of the trouble lies in liberals themselves because they are *out of touch with common people.*

If the post-war reforms advocated in the recent report of the National Resources Planning Board are not adopted after the war, liberals will be mistaken if they jump to the conclusion that these reforms were defeated by a reactionary Congress, business men, or any other group or combination of groups. Instead it will come from the failure of liberals (or intellectuals) to present these ideas to the people in the people's language.

Findlay, Ohio DAVID S. ARNOLD

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Since President Roosevelt has been able to make the British "swallow" General Giraud, it is to be hoped, writes Benjamin Ben, of Syracuse, New York, that he will show equal zest in obtaining "succor and life for refugee and stateless Jews. . . ."

Thekla K. Rice of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, thanks us for the editorial "Mr. Wallace Walks the Plank," in the July 26 issue of The New Republic. Wallace is her ideal of what a public servant should be—"honest, forthright and unafraid. . . ."

Private A. T. of "Desert Training Center," calls Selden Rodman's "V-Letter to Karl Shapiro" [The New Republic, June 14] one of the great poems of this war.

Sergeant A. L., of Miami Beach, Florida, says that soldiers are very much in need of an educational program.

Chaplain Jacob M. Ott reports that most of his men were "shockingly disturbed" by the Detroit race riot. ". . . What crazed, maddening lust drove these people to murder?" he asks. "When will the citizenry realize that the roots of our fighting men are at home."

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Books in Review

Escape from the Galleys

ON THE FIRST DAY after Jean Hélion was captured, with 2,000 other prisoners, they were marched fifteen miles and were given nothing to eat. On the second day, still without food, the Germans marched them twenty-five miles; and it was easy to measure the distance by the kilometric stones at the edge of the French highways. Here is the rest of their journey, as Hélion records it in his book, "They Shall Not Have Me"[1]:

3rd day: 30 miles and no food
4th day: 35 miles and ditto
5th day: a tiny platter of soup and 42 well selected miles.
6th day: a mere 15 miles, and a little French tobacco wrapped in a thin brown paper.

They were given the tobacco as they staggered into the big prison camp at Orléans, where they would be kept for seven weeks. Talking to prisoners from other regiments, Hélion learned that all of them had been driven to make the same forced marches, apparently under orders from the German high command. The Germans calculated that prisoners on the point of death from hunger and exhaustion would not try to escape. But there was another reason, too, for sending men on this desperate journey. The French prisoners were to serve as slave labor and, to make them docile, their spirits had to be completely broken.

"They won't get me," *ils ne m'auront pas*, was what Hélion kept saying, but sometimes he suspected that he was boasting to himself. Hélion is a stocky, open-faced, likable man, an artist by profession and a very good one. A few years before the war, he married an American woman and settled down on a farm in Virginia; he had taken out his first citizenship papers. I saw him in the late autumn of 1939, two days before he sailed to join the French army. He had no more illusions than the rest of us about the sort of war that France was fighting, but nevertheless he had volunteered—because, as he explained at some length, he didn't want to feel that he had failed to play his part, however small, in the central event of our times.

Hélion's part proved to be that of a galley slave on the Nordenham, an old banana boat that was moored in Stettin harbor. There were 750 French prisoners confined in the hold, and it "stank of unclean bodies, of cheese rotting in cardboard boxes, and of all the emanations that the clothes had absorbed in the tunnels, in the workshops, on the piers: coal, oil, mud, fertilizer." The ship was infested with lice and fleas, and there was no way to get rid of them. The food had been scientifically planned by the German army as the minimum necessary to keep men working, but the better part of it was taken by the overseers and the eight kitchen wenches. Every week the *Lagerführer*—the civilian head of the camp—held a great drunken feast with what he had stolen from the prisoners' rations.

[1] They Shall Not Have Me, by Jean Hélion. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 436 pages. $3.

They were rented out to work like livery horses. Theoretically they were paid two-thirds of the wage received by German workers in the same trades, but this money went to the prison-camp administration; the prisoners themselves were given only 70 pfennigs a day. Hélion learned how the system operated by working as a translator in the office of the military commander. He estimates that the German government made a net cash profit of more than 2,000,000 marks a day out of 1,300,000 French prisoners. There were sound financial reasons for not sending them home.

Unable to perform serious acts of sabotage—and uninstructed, too, since they never met British or Russian agents and never got a chance to hear radio broadcasts—the prisoners formed little clubs that tormented their jailers. The Lice Throwers collected lice all week, paying as much as one mark for a dozen healthy specimens; then at Sunday inspections they flicked them on the uniforms of German officers. The Scavengers clipped portraits of Hitler from the German press; they used no other toilet paper. The Club of the Black Crosses counted military death notices in the Stettin newspaper; after the invasion of Russia there were usually eight or ten every day. When there were fifteen Stettiners dead for the fatherland, the club members opened a precious tin of sardines; when there were thirty or more, as sometimes happened, they held a banquet and, lacking wine, they toasted the Russian snipers with a mouthful of meat. They also compiled statistics; their estimate was that 900,000 Germans had died during the first eight months of the Russian war.

In August, 1941, Hélion began making preparations for escape, but winter had come before he was ready to go. His wife had been sending him tins of American coffee and tobacco; he sold them on the black market and, with the proceeds, managed to collect a curious civilian wardrobe, piece by piece. Almost the whole shipload of prisoners collaborated in his plans: one man stole a passport for him, another forged the necessary police stamps, dozens furnished items of information, and finally, late in March, two volleyball teams staged a free-for-all fight near the gate, so that Hélion could slip past the guard. He made his way to Belgium by a combination of luck and effrontery, but it was only a miracle that got him past the border guards. A few minutes later, he was joined by another escaping French prisoner. Reading of their adventures, you have a heart-warming picture of nations united against the Nazis. In Belgium, for example, Hélion and his new comrade were helped by dozens of people who knew that they were risking their lives, and why. The last was the owner of a café not a hundred yards from the French frontier. "*Vive la France*," she said as they were leaving. "*Vive la Belgique*," they answered—"in a low voice like a secret."

Hélion's book is as informal and candid as a personal letter. He writes in English, but part of the time he thinks in French, with the result that some of his idioms are engagingly incorrect. He has a painter's eye for the people he meets: thus, he says that the other escaping prisoner "looked like a civilian exactly the way that a painting, made by

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someone inexperienced but enormously patient, looks like its model." He also has a painter's passion for accuracy; he never falsifies a situation to produce a political or dramatic effect. Though he is telling his own story, he gives a picture of France in defeat, and it is curiously heartening. You feel that the French, humiliated and starving, have nevertheless survived a moral crisis; they have stumbled through a morass that we may still have to cross.

MALCOLM COWLEY

The New Impulse in Fiction

Equinox, by Allan Seager. New York: Simon and Schuster. 408 pages. $2.75.
The Journey, by Robert Paul Smith. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 157 pages. $2.

INTO THE VOID created by the collapse of the socially conscious novel of the thirties—a collapse signaled by two of its few achievements, "The Grapes of Wrath" and "Native Son"—has rushed what seemed to be merely a confusing variety of impulses, but what actually is taking on the style, ideology and bulk of a new literary movement. Among the novels I have in mind are two published this month, Allan Seager's "Equinox" and Robert Paul Smith's "The Journey," Dorothy Baker's "Trio," Peter De Vries' "The Handsome Heart," and, sometime back, Smith's "So It Doesn't Whistle," Mark Schorer's "The Hermit Place" and Carson McCullers' "The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter" and "Reflections in a Golden Eye."

As with most literary movements this one is best defined by listing several of the attributes which these books, and many others, have in common, rather than attempting to formulate a brief, and necessarily arbitrary, definition.

First, an intense preoccupation with the individual consciousness which is explored frequently with the techniques and terminology of modern psychology, if not psychiatry. Consequently, an increasing interest in the markedly neurotic, if not psychopathic, individual. The sexual life plays a large and explicit role. Society exists largely in terms of personal relationships, not as the entity it is in the tradition of social realism. An absence of class-consciousness, which permits by a kind of inverse democracy, the *dramatis personae* to be drawn without prejudice as to race, class or previous condition of servitude from all strata of society. Rich and poor alike, and particularly the declassé intellectual, are treated as individuals instead of being carefully catalogued by class.

Second, with reference to style, there is an equally intense preoccupation with form. A movement away from the sprawling naturalistic novel and the *tranche de vie*. Deliberate experiment with the shapely novelette, a careful ordering of materials as in a well made play and a use of symbolism for structural as well as verbal effect.

Third, and flowing from the above, the ideology of these novels, when apparent, represents a defiant individualism that takes at times the direction of nihilism; at other times, but as often simultaneously, asserts in almost religious terms the absolute value of the individual and the sanctity of the narrow social relationships, love and friendship.

Fourth, the "tone" is sophisticated, urban, intellectual, reflecting the interests (almost the hobbies) of the literary smart set: jazz, Blake, homosexuality, Henry James, incest, Mexico, primitivism in the arts and in manners, etc.

To label this a new impulse may seem unhistorical, for surely here are characteristics that apply equally to much fiction with which we have long been familiar—one thinks, at random, of James and Joyce, of "The Sun Also Rises" and "Tender Is the Night," of the novels of Kafka and the stories of Katherine Anne Porter. But in the short view—in the light of the preoccupations of the thirties—it is a new impulse, and moreover it is a movement scarred strongly by these particular years of depression and fascism and war so that it differs qualitatively from the fairly recent work that it most closely resembles and to which it is deeply indebted. Similarly, while with each issue Partisan Review comes more and more to resemble Hound and Horn, it remains a manifestation of the post-Spanish War, post-Munich era.

It is too early to attempt to evaluate this recent tendency; my purpose is simply to acknowledge it as a direction that many young writers of talent are following. To treat it adequately would require, ridiculous as it may seem, a discussion of the subjects, the methods and the values of almost the whole of our recent literary experience.

Neither "Equinox" nor "The Journey" is a valuable contribution, although the former may be the first book of its kind to achieve a large popular success. The theme of "Equinox" is incest; the intense love of a girl for her father is played upon by an unscrupulous amateur psychiatrist and tragedy follows. Interwoven are the stories of the father's mistress and of a dipsomaniac whom the villainous psychiatrist is also bent on destroying. A fine melodramatic brew is brought to the boiling point, and served piping hot.

The theme of "The Journey" is, I take it, the search for what used to be called "spiritual regeneration." After the manner of a Sherwood Anderson character, Paul Marrane throws up his job in a New York advertising office and sets out upon the journey that leads to Mexico and some unresolved emotional and sexual adventures. Fundamentally more serious, perhaps, "The Journey" is less entertaining than "Equinox" which is first-rate bedroom melodrama.

Mr. Seager and Mr. Smith both are sensitive to areas of experience—emotional, physical and verbal—that are out of the reach of the average practitioner of fiction, but in these books they have embarked upon fancy expeditions rather than meaningful explorations of the country of the heart. They dazzle; they are, in the immortal words of Simon and Schuster, "shocking"; but their elaborate reports are hollow because, I fear, they have nothing to say.

After the arid politicalism and the ill fitting heroics of

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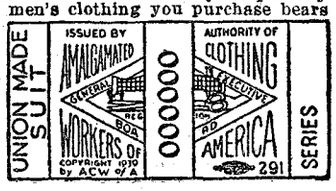

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much of the writing of the thirties, it is good to find a large number of young writers examining the differences between men and the perilous depths within them. It is good to find them respecting the tools of their craft. But most of them need reminding that psychology and craftsmanship are not enough, are helpless in the absence of the moral imagination.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

The Legends of Ignorance

The Devil and the Jews, by Joshua Trachtenberg. New Haven: Yale University Press. 279 pages. $3.50.

THIS BOOK represents a sober investigation into the incredible fund of fact and legend which has accumulated about the Jew in his supposed guise of Anti-Christ, devil incarnate, magician, sorcerer, heretic, usurer, fiend and inveterate enemy of mankind. The author, who is Rabbi of Temple Covenant of Peace at Easton, Pennsylvania, is of the opinion that the fear and hatred of the Jew, manifested throughout the Western world for centuries, has its psychological origins in the Middle Ages. The illustrations, gathered from a variety of interesting sources, lend vivid reality to the abundant documentary evidence of the text pointing to the psychotic nature of the Christian mind. There was no accusation against the Jew which was too fantastic or extraordinary for the medieval mind to embrace as truth.

The question which a book of this sort inevitably provokes is—what good does it do? The author himself seems to have been troubled by it else he would have been able to avoid reference to Archibald MacLeish's diatribe against the "Irresponsibles who in our time elect the safe seclusion of 'pure' scholarship or art and either disdain or fear to descend into the heart of the conflict." In defending himself as a scholar whose sole interest is the discovery and statement of the truth ("even a world in turmoil needs the truth," he adds lamely), he goes on to make the amazing statement that "obviously, we must at last recognize, the lie is a more potent weapon, skillfully wielded, than the bare and simple truth, as Adolf Hitler once so forcefully declared and has since demonstrated." It seems to me that there is a tremendous discrepancy between the belief that "there *is* an abiding value in the discovery and statement of the truth" and the belief that "the lie, skillfully wielded, is a more potent weapon than the bare and simple truth." It is a discrepancy which points to the defect in the scholar's approach to life's problems. By laying bare the origins of the anti-Semitic complex, today more than ever rampant, does the author hope to cure the evil? I doubt it. He himself admits that "Jew hatred is hardier than the liberal utopians who placed their trust in reason and knowledge imagined." Where are we then? What are we getting at? What is to be accomplished by this exposé of "the unique demonological character among group hostilities" which underlies anti-Semitism?

Explaining that the present book is an outgrowth of an earlier one called "Jewish Magic and Superstition," the author remarks that it was his aim to examine more thoroughly than he had previously been able to the accusation of sorcery against the Jew. What a beginning! Then, of course, as you will find in the preface to so many scholarly works, he confesses (and what a sad confession it is) that before long he realized that the subject had far deeper implications, "that it involved, in fact, not alone this one charge but the entire medieval conception of the Jew, and that this same conception, in another vocabulary, still prevails throughout much of the world." No one with any sense will deny the truth of these deeper implications. But right here I must pause to make a curious observation. In those parts of the world where the medieval conception of the Jew does not prevail—notably Soviet Russia—obviously something must have occurred which the author of this book chooses to ignore. In Soviet Russia there is no "diabolization of the Jew." In Tsarist Russia there was. Mr. Trachtenberg is dissatisfied with the half-truth concerning the nature of anti-Semitism which is embodied in the materialistic conception of history. Impressed by Maurice Samuel's book, "The Great Hatred," he wants to dwell on that element of the problem, which he claims lies outside the ken of materialists, viz., "that element in the complex of anti-Jewish prejudice which renders it different, in expression and intensity, from other manifestations of racial or minority antipathy—the demonological." And so, he adds (a most admirable admission), "without my intending it so, this book has developed into a chapter-and-verse demonstration of the historic correctness of this thesis."

In short, what Mr. Trachtenberg means to say amounts to this: never mind what actually did happen in another part of the world, where the problem no longer exists, forget that success grew out of a half-baked idea, and give heed now to an exposition of the true theory of why the

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Jews are still hated and feared in this part of the world: I have no solutions to offer, I am just a scholar devoted to truth: I am going to saw away at this problem until the crack of doom, because what I am really and truly interested in is a chapter-and-verse demonstration of the historic correctness of another man's thesis.

The book is made up of data illustrating the eternal legend of man's ignorance and cruelty. A wealth of notes and an impressive bibliography are appended. The epilogue is entitled "Still the Devil's Own." So where are we? One might just as well take a ride in a ferris wheel. I can foresee no tangible defection in the ranks of the anti-Semites as a result of reading this scholarly work. HENRY MILLER

The Newest Humanism

Science and Criticism: The Humanistic Tradition in Contemporary Thought, by Herbert J. Muller. New Haven: Yale University Press. 303 pages. $3.75.

THE FIRST INTENTION of Mr. Muller's book is frankly pedagogic—it undertakes to expound the leading ideas of contemporary science as exemplified in physics, biology, psychology, sociology and anthropology. Its usefulness is available to any reader, but it is aimed particularly at literary critics, its purpose being to destroy the straw-man of science which the more philosophical literary minds are in the habit of attacking and to replace it with a true conception of what science actually is.

The literary resentment of science is based on the belief that science conceives a universe of brute fact in which the sole principle of explanation is mechanism, in which the conception of human free will is impossible, in which mind is but the passive recorder of events and—perhaps most important of all—in which "values" have no validity. The literary philosophers conceive the alternative to scientific naturalism to be some form of religion, although in practice this is usually no more than a religiosity which takes its chief impulse from the ingrained, unconscious pragmatism of the "believer"—he needs a faith and *will* have it, for it does him good. At first glance, this literary hostility to science seems the continuation of a crisis in culture which began early in the nineteenth century. In actual fact, however, it is merely the vestige of that historical situation, ritualistically continued and maintaining the appearance of life by feeding on ignorance: Mr. Muller is polite but blunt in saying that literary men of philosophic bent know little about science. What they so courageously defy is the science of Tennyson's "The Two Voices," not science now in use.

Mr. Muller, who declares his debt to the pragmatism of James and the instrumentalism of Dewey, emphasizes everything in modern scientific thought that exemplifies the interplay of mind and fact, that takes scientific ideas to be not the literal descriptions of events but rather ways of fertilely conceiving and dealing with events. He is at pains to demonstrate that for science mind is no longer the passive receiver of ideas but their creator. In this view of things, values themselves, though subject to the same tests by which scientific ideas are judged—among other criteria, by their usefulness in conceiving and dealing with events—have an equal status with scientific ideas and are not to be judged as "mere" subjectivisms. From here Mr. Muller goes on to his larger intention, which is one of cultural synthesis—the establishment of a humanism which can look forward with a growing science rather than backward with dogma, a synthesis in which science, art and morality, being equally pragmatic and instrumental, are in a natural alliance.

In the cogency of its intention, in the range of its intellectual view, in the shrewdness and precision of many of its critical remarks, Mr. Muller's book is admirable and important. But something in the *texture* of the work keeps it from being equal to its author's many gifts. In naturalistic writing it is so often the texture that fails to support the logic. Mr. Muller can be eloquent and witty, but he has a tendency to play martial music at the appearance of approved ideas, he is too often consciously salty and too easily relaxed; modeling himself on James's manner, he lacks James's muscle and bone. And warned by the style, I found something of its facility and relaxation in other elements of the book. In almost all matters of science I must be Mr. Muller's pupil, but I am put on my guard against his instruction in physics and biology when I find him writing about Freud as facilely as he does, laxly accepting, for the sake of scientific catholicity, ideas in modification of Freud largely because they *are* ideas in modification, though from my knowledge of them they are merely plausible and dictated by optimistic, quasi-humanistic prejudices. And I cannot think that Mr. Muller is doing his cause a service by the easy admiration which enthrones Thomas Mann as the chief of the humanistic pantheon—by announcing in his first sentence that his position is "the traditional position of humanism, as represented in literature most honorably and conspicuously today by Thomas Mann," and by being so quick to understand how contemporaries may be "simply awed by the Olympian qualities of Mann." Mann is often a great novelist, but a humanism which takes him as its hero is likely to be merely traditional, Olympian and verbal.

LIONEL TRILLING

Japanese at Home and Abroad

Japan's Military Masters, by Hillis Lory. New York: The Viking Press. 256 pages. $2.50.
Why Japan Was Strong, by John Patric. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 313 pages. $2.50.
My War with Japan, by Carroll Alcott. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 368 pages. $3.
Prisoner of the Japs, by Gwen Dew. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 309 pages. $3.

OF THIS GROUP two books deal with the Japanese at home, and two with Japanese abroad. Individually they are extremely different in material, approach, point of view and value. All of them, however, add to our knowledge of the Japanese, and several should help us to see ourselves as the Orientals see us.

Hillis Lory's "Japan's Military Masters" is a comprehensive account of the Japanese military machine from the private in the ranks to the Big Three who play so important a role not only in the running of the army but also in political Japan. Mr. Lory describes the army organization, training of conscripts, military schools, methods of advancement and so on. He discusses the relation of the army to society as a whole in terms of the family system and the

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cult of Emperor-worship, and also discusses briefly (too briefly for this kind of book) the political aspects of the mass support of army aggression in terms of a social revolution against the too concentrated economic and political control of the big financial-industrial family corporations. It is well organized and highly detailed and makes a useful handbook on the Japanese military.

John Patric's "Why Japan Is Strong" is a simply written objective travelogue of a hobo-style tour of Japan, and briefly, Korea, Manchuria and China. Mr. Patric, a traveling salesman, went to Japan out of curiosity some time before the "China Incident," and by traveling third-class, hiking a lot, living on next to nothing, staying in Japanese inns or with the people he encounters along the way, has a constant stream of interesting encounters, and by identifying himself with the people he meets, whether Japanese, Koreans or Chinese, manages to arrive at some revealing and important conclusions about Japanese character and civilization, and the danger of Western atttiudes in the Orient. An extremely interesting book.

"My War with Japan," by Carroll Alcott, is a newspaperman's account of personal experience and impressions during thirteen years of work on local newspapers in Manila and Shanghai. His "war" involves the unsuccessful attempts of the Japanese to prevent his unfavorable broadcasts from 1938 to 1941, when he left China voluntarily. Along the way there are gun-runners, White Russians, Chinese thugs and heroes, opium-smugglers and the rest of the usual decor of a correspondent's Shanghai. There are are also, however, some interesting sidelights on the running of the International Settlement, snapshots of Chinese customs and accounts of the Sino-Japanese war.

Gwen Dew's "Prisoner of the Japs" is a newspaperwoman's account of the fall of Hong Kong and her subsequent imprisonment as one of the interned foreigners. Miss Dew, a correspondent and photographer for The Detroit News, set out for the Orient in 1941 because "I missed the war in Europe by one week and I didn't intend to be caught outside this one." After a brief stopover in Japan, "It was hard to talk to many Japanese for they didn't want to be seen with foreigners"; and briefly in Shanghai, "tiffins, teas, dinners, dancing," she settled down in the Repulse Bay Hotel in Hong Kong for a spot of the usual foreign-colony life, "golden decorations and champagne flowing," intending later to fly to Chungking. The Japanese trapped her in Hong Kong. The rest of the book is an account of the fantastic battle of Hong Kong, and her experience along with other foreigners as prisoner of war.

Miss Dew's intention is an out-and-out "hate" book. She wishes to arouse our hatred for the Japanese and increase our determination to pay them back for their treatment of "white" prisoners. As it works out, however, her book is a partly unintentional indictment of British inefficiency in the defense of Hong Kong and callous indifference to the "natives" involved—whether they were Indian soldiers fighting with their army or Chinese refugees fleeing from the Japanese invaders. It is also an entirely unintentional indictment of the "white" point of view toward Asiatics. Miss Dew never once stops thinking of herself and her fellow prisoners in terms of their pre-war position, without ever seeming to realize that it was the position of a small priviliged class in a sea of underprivileged natives. She knows that she and the others are uncomfortable, crowded, cold or hot, bothered by cockroaches and other vermin, and have insufficient when not actually disgusting food. Yet despite the cases of individual injustice, and individual cases of literal torture, the majority of these foreign prisoners—on Miss Dew's evidence—lived under conditions that would have been accepted even in peacetime as normal by the average Japanese, and as luxury by millions of Chinese.

Ideally, Miss Dew's volume should be boxed with Mr. Patric's. They supplement each other. Because he "goes native" and shares the normal economies of the Asiatics, Mr. Patric has a number of brushes with the "pukka sahib" attitude, traditional in Asia and the Far East, and so is able to see that the white man's insistence on luxury

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and privilege to build up face with the "natives" has gradually produced a mass antagonism that can turn to hatred in times of crisis. Miss Dew reports how this hatred pays off, not only by her accounts of Japanese apparent pleasure at the British (especially) privations, but, more important, in her accounts of how the "Wang Ching-wei traitorous" Chinese guided the Japanese troops past the defending British both on the mainland and on Hong Kong. The same sort of tacit or open coöperation with the Japanese, in Wang Ching-wei China, in Siam, Burma, Malaya and so on, warns us that—as far as large groups of Asiatics are concerned—Japanese brutality during the war is less important than the pre-war Western attitude and habits of arrogance and privilege.

This is a lesson we will have to learn before we can hope for a stable world order. We can win the war by sheer weight of material, and still lose it through failure to face the basic facts of Oriental poverty, and the East's resentment of our insistence on privilege. HELEN MEARS

A Reader's List

IN TIME OF HARVEST, by John L. Sinclair (Macmillan, $2.50). Mr. Sinclair has written a very simple regional novel about the McClung family who come from Oklahoma to New Mexico to become bean-farming homesteaders. There is Tod, his wife Faybelle, grandfather Piddle and six children. Two of the children turn out well, one dies of heart failure, one becomes a whore, one goes to jail, etc. Their farm is moderately prosperous, though undergoing the usual vicissitudes. It is short, almost wholly dialogue (in dialect) and the personal language of the author is approximately the same, with consequent limitations. Language, events and characters are, apparently, authentic.

BALKAN FIREBRAND: The Autobiography of a Rebel, Soldier and Statesman, by Kosta Todorov (Ziff-Davis, $3.50). The head of the Free Bulgarian Committee has recorded the events of an incredibly stormy career. It requires, as do all such autobiographies, triple standards of evaluation: as a life, as politics and as literature. However, the merits and defects in all three aspects are parallel and stem from single causes. There is a superabundance of impulsive action and a deficiency of long-range perspective. As he crusades for a "brotherhood of free Balkan peoples," he is admirable and appealing, an astute politician and an oddly refined judge of character. But ardor and ability to manage the immediate do not compensate for the lack of a more sustained and profound motivation.

CHILDREN AND WAR, by Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlinghame (Medical War Books, $3.50). In this report of the most striking of the more than twenty thousand case histories they have studied, the saints of "Journey for Margaret" show themselves to be capable of an amazingly clear-headed and scientific approach to a therapeutic task of immense magnitude and intricacy. Reactions of children to the varied stresses of war turn out to be wholly unlike all preconception, and the investigation of these reactions leads to the exploration of much that is puzzling and unfamiliar in both child and adult psychology. Written in non-technical language, it is a vivid narration, backed by painstaking observation and trained interpretation.

GOD IS MY CO-PILOT, by Col. Robert L. Scott, Jr. (Scribner's, $2.50). Forget about the title—this is the McCoy. Colonel Scott got to Asia by flying a Fortress over (what a trip it was: navigator trouble and the fact that he'd never flown this type of ship before didn't help any), and then for two months, the only American fighter in the district, he bombed Japs on the Burma Road, fought Jap pilots and raided their bases. From July, 1942, to January, 1943, he was Commander of the 23rd Fighter Group at Kunming, under General Chennault. This "one-man air force" (the General's description) is not only a born flier; he communicates the zest, the hazards, the sense of power and the lust for battle of the fighter pilot so vividly that reading his book becomes an experience in participation.

LATE AND SOON, by E. M. Delafield (Harpers, $2.50). When Col. Rory Lonergan, who is having an affair with Primrose Arbell, is billeted at her mother's place in the country, he and Lady Arbell recognize in each other the lovers of twenty-five years ago who have never forgotten. Mrs. Delafield's neat drawing-room comedy is seasoned with characters who invite satire and she provides some clever dialogue, but most of us won't join the author in shedding a tear at the impending doom of England's County way of life.

THE LUFTWAFFE: ITS RISE AND FALL, by Hauptmann Hermann. With an introduction by Curt Reiss (Putnam, $3). This book, written under a pseudonym by a German flier in the First World War, is a historical and analytical study of the Luftwaffe. Through a series of biographical sketches he reveals that men like Junkers, who were primarily interested in air-travel and who slanted their researches toward that end, unwittingly created Germany's military machine. And its failure, after the initial successes in Europe, clearly shows that the Luftwaffe was designed to fight short wars and could not bear up under the strain of long-drawn-out warfare. But Germany's air power, the author warns us, is by no means dead. When the Germans are convinced that their defeat is imminent, he expects them to engage in large-scale nuisance raids, followed by bacterial and poison-gas warfare.

Contributors

NICOLA CHIAROMONTE is an Italian writer, now a political refugee in the United States. He left Italy in 1934, and lived in France until 1941, where he was connected with the "Giustizia e Liberta" group.

KATE L. MITCHELL is the author, among other books, of "India Without Fable." She is a member of the editorial board of Amerasia, and of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations.

MANUEL BUAKEN is now overseas with a group of specially qualified Filipino soldiers who are to be given battlefront training as commandos. His book, "I Have Lived with the American People," has just been accepted for publication by the Caxton Printers.

SOLOMON F. BLOOM, a member of the department of History of Brooklyn College, is the author of "The World of Nations: A Study of the National Implications in the Work of Karl Marx." He was formerly on the staff of The New York Times.

HENRY MILLER, the author of "The Cosmological Eye," "The Colossus of Maroussi" and "Tropic of Capricorn," is living in California and working on a sequel to the latter book, "The Rosy Crucifixion."

LIONEL TRILLING is a member of the English Department of Columbia University and is a frequent contributor to literary journals. New Directions Press has just published his book on E. M. Forster.

HELEN MEARS is the author of "The Year of the Wild Boar," published last fall by Lippincott.

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The Jews of Europe

How to Help Them

The First Front

THE NAZIS did not invent German anti-Semitism. It is a profound misunderstanding of the nature of the problem to suppose either that anti-Semitism came in with the Nazis or that it will go out with them. When they appeared on the German scene, the influential Conservative and Nationalist Parties, as well as a host of smaller "splinter" groups, were already committed to varying degrees of the prejudice, which the Nazis took over and developed into a pseudo-philosophy that touched life at every point. And these parties inherited an old tradition, the roots of which lay deep in German history. Anti-Semitism has a longer and more significant history in Germany than in any other country. It was, in fact, only during the brief Weimar period of less than fifteen years that the Jews in Germany enjoyed anything like real equality; and even then it was being challenged by powerful forces and undermined by incidents like the assassination of Rathenau.

From the days of the Crusaders, which were marked by wholesale massacres of the Jewish population in the Rhineland, down to the triumphant rise of Hitlerism, Germany has been the classic land of anti-Semitism. It would take a considerable volume merely to describe the immense literature, ranging from broadsheets and pamphlets to fat tomes full of perverse learning, in which this tradition is embodied. The protests of men of liberal temper, from Reuchlin, the great Renaissance scholar, to Lessing, the author of "Nathan the Wise," had no lasting effect and made no fundamental difference. The nineteenth century, which brought emancipation to the Jewries of Western Europe, brought only disillusionment to the Jews of Germany. Many, like Heinrich Heine who hoped that a certificate of baptism would be a "passport to civilization," sought refuge in nominal conversion to Christianity; but it did not help them, and the Nuremberg decrees have overtaken their grandchildren. Bismarck's empire, which in other respects did so much to modernize Germany, was not above using Jewish talent and enterprise, but still withheld social and civic equality. The historians, who celebrated the new era of imperialism by reviving the glories of the past, revived the ancient hatreds with them. Even Biblical criticism was turned to anti-Semitic uses. Richard Wagner enhanced his status as a prophet of the new Germany by putting out a book which purported to expose Judaism as a subversive influence in music; and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, a Germanized Englishman, in his celebrated "Foundations of the Nineteenth Century," set out to show that the Jews had been the root of evil in the development of Western civilization and produced a book which has a place second only to "Mein Kampf" in the canonical literature of Nazi racialism.

This was the tradition which the Nazis took over and developed. With the aid of a propaganda machine operating with a lack of moral scruple which was truly total and a physical equipment which was magnificent, the anti-Semitic thesis was hammered home:

The Jew is the source of all our ills, the Jew is the enemy.

It was repeated in every issue of every Nazi periodical; it was the theme of storm-troopers' marching songs; it was the moral of every important political speech, and finally it became the subject of classroom instruction. The extent to which anti-Semitism permeated the national life of Germany was never fully realized by the outside world, because that world has been accustomed to regard anti-Semitism as the fruit of religious prejudice or as merely incidental to political reaction. But the Nazis made it the central theme of their propaganda; there were, indeed, other objects of hate—Versailles, bolshevism, pluto-democracy and the rest—but it was the Jew, and the Jew alone, who made them all fit into one coherent system. He was the father of all these evils and the ultimate enemy. The calculated mendacities of a company of political adventurers became the national faith of a great people.

Anti-Semitism was the weapon with which the Nazis fought their way to political victory in Germany. Unlike the Italians, who refused to accept Mussolini's belated anti-Semitism; unlike the French, who have actively resisted Laval's anti-Semitism; unlike the Norwegians, Danes, Belgians, Dutch and Czechs, who have fought Quisling anti-Semitism at the peril of their lives, the German people accepted it with the unquestioning acquiescence of a Prussian recruit accepting the orders of a drill sergeant. It was the path to national

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freedom and—not less important—it promised the job-hungry sons of the middle classes, proletarianized by inflation, the places in business and the professions which were to be vacated by dispossessed Jews. And so they voted the Nazis into power and swelled the ranks of the storm-troopers. A slight variation of Tennyson's famous lines described perfectly the whole duty of the faithful party member:

> Theirs not to reason why.
> Theirs but to vote and die.

It is now clear why the Nazi regime could never make any concession on the Jewish question. It would have meant the abandonment of the party's chief electoral asset and its most powerful popular appeal. So important, indeed, was this appeal to its popular strength, that the disappearance of the Jewish community from Germany has created a new anxiety for the leaders. The Nazi press during the past few months has been attempting to revive the earlier emotional appeal in the hope of using it to sustain a faltering morale; but the liquidation of the Jews in Germany had made it difficult, if not impossible. The Völkischer Beobachter of June 2, 1943, for example, published an article which set out to tell all over again the story of the wickedness of the Jew, especially in relation to his alleged responsibility for the war. The following sentences, explaining the reason for the article, are of special significance:

> Many, indeed most, of the National Socialists were drawn to the movement primarily owing to their loathing of Jewry. This loathing was of a vehemence that would come as an emotional surprise to the youth of today, for this youth is no longer able to see with its own eyes what Jewry actually is.

What has been said so far is an attempt to explain the vehemence of anti-Semitism in Germany itself. But the Nazis, in defiance of the plain requirements of international law as well as every instinct of humanity, are now exterminating the Jews of the countries they have occupied. And they have avowed it to be their intention to destroy the Jews everywhere. The amiable Goebbels reiterated this intention to representatives of the foreign press as recently as last March. "Germany," he said, "is firmly convinced that the Jews are an international disease which must be exterminated in Europe." Behind the desire to exploit a national prejudice at home for its electoral and political advantages, there is a deeper, worldwide conflict. The Jew, who has been called upon to sustain the difficult role of the nonconformist of history, can never be viewed with friendly eyes by the protagonists of despotism. In the case of the Nazi leaders this hostility is deepened by the conviction that the Jew is not only the symbol but the originator and repository of the conception of life with which they are at war. The path of advance of the Nazi ideology, with its conception of a hierarchy of men and of races, has been barred by the Christian ethic, with its belief in the independent and ultimate value of every human soul, and by the liberal faith, with its doctrine of human equality and inalienable rights. What are these hostile ideologies, asks the Nazi theorist, but variations on the theme of Judaism? Whence do they derive but from that Jewish idea which was born in ancient Judea and was imposed by an inferior race on the whole world? Catholicism, Protestantism, democracy, liberalism—any faith or philosophy based on the belief in the autonomy of the human soul—they are all Jewish religions. They owe nothing to Greece, which believed in the inequality of races and the natural law of slavery; they owe nothing to Rome, which worshiped Caesar as God; they are the offspring of Judah, who imposed his will on the world not by arms or the arts of government but by the power of an idea. "Olympus and Valhalla have been depopulated," cries Houston Stewart Chamberlain, "because the Jew has wished it so."

And if there were any doubt about the truth of this analysis of the influence of the Jew in history, it was set at rest by an examination of his role in the intellectual life of the contemporary world. It is not only that he is in the forefront of liberal movements in politics; it could hardly be otherwise, since he is looked on askance by the conservatives. But he is the innovator in the arts, and his Einsteins and Freuds are forever pottering about in the borderlands of science, probing into the mysteries of the human mind, overturning received ideas and unsettling ancient stabilities, substituting relativism for the simple certitudes which make the honest storm-trooper content to worship Caesar as his god.

There is only one way to eliminate the Jew as a center of infection: exterminate him! And that is precisely what Hitler has been doing for four years. He might easily have scored a tactical victory and offered the democracies a million or two Jews, which he knows would have been sure to cause them the acutest embarrassment. But he preferred to slaughter them. He is determined to kill not only the Jews but the Jewish idea.

When Hitler began his attack on the Jews he declared war on civilization. Civilization came perilously near to losing the war when it ignored that declaration. It is still ignoring the first front on which the war opened ten years ago. On that front the Jews have been fighting almost alone, with the support of the European underground and the intermittent aid of a few liberals. The Jews have suffered the most fearful casualties on that front, but for two whole years democratic statesmen did not even make a public reference to the slaughter. It was not until last December that the United Nations publicly acknowledged the existence of this front by collectively denouncing "Hitler's

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oft-repeated intention to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe." But there are still statesmen who insist that this front shall not be allowed to interfere with the war!

Impatient Gentiles and timorous Jews had better reconcile themselves to the fact that the fate of the Jewish people is one of the issues in this war. It is true that the Jews suffer from the political disadvantage that by the very law of their being they can produce no Quisling or Laval to intercede for them with Hitler, and consequently no Darlan to resell their allegiance to the democracies. They have nothing to bring to the political markets; they have already given to the Allied cause all they have. Nevertheless, the moral issues in this war cannot be permanently evaded and must be brought into the open. Shall Hitler decide the issue on the first front, or the democracies? Is this a war for power or is it a war for freedom?

Democracy in Retreat

ANTI-SEMITISM has been from the beginning an integral and permanent element in the program of the Nazi Party. Other items in that program have been postponed, modified or reversed, and even a cursory glance at the history of Nazi policy will convince an objective observer that the leaders of the party never seriously intended to put into practice many of the early proposals solemnly adopted and promulgated as fundamental elements in the original Nazi revelation. This was particularly true in the field of social and economic legislation. There were constant shifts of emphasis in the party's propaganda and its announcements of public policies in order to appeal first to one group and then to another. The Nazis sought to be all things to all men; and in pursuit of this purpose they developed the art of political duplicity to a point which has never before been reached. A party which described itself as socialist, and was on appropriate occasions vehement in its denunciations of capitalism and high finance, was in large measure sustained by contributions from heavy industry and banks. The avowed enemies of Christianity, which was ridiculed as Jewish in its origins and doctrine, signed a Concordat with the Catholic Church and successfully promoted a "reformation" among the Protestants. Most astonishing of all, when the needs of aggression demanded an accommodation with Russia, the Nazi leaders, who had achieved the most dazzling successes in the international field in the guise of defenders of civilization against the menace of Bolshevism, were ready to sign the Non-Aggression Pact of August, 1939, in Moscow; and they had the added satisfaction of observing that by a single stroke of policy they had transformed the hard-headed leaders of Communist Parties throughout the world into the willing or helpless instruments of Nazi policy.

The Nazi leaders were always willing to do business with their natural enemies—ecclesiastics, democratic statesmen or Bolshevik leaders—but never with the Jew. Amid all the changes and chances of policy dictated by expediency, there was one line of malignant consistency which it was apparent nothing could break or bend. In the eyes of an orthodox Nazi, the Jew is always and everywhere the source of evil, the ultimate enemy. In this respect the system was unique even among totalitarian regimes.

Mussolini, for example, had succeeded in establishing his Fascist regime without recourse to anti-Semitism, and he had invariably held in check his more fanatical or more consistent followers who had agitated for the introduction of anti-Jewish legislation. He had, indeed, sought to use the Jews for his own purposes and encouraged them to maintain their contacts with Jewish communities abroad. It was with his express sanction that the Union of Italian Jewish Communities entered the World Jewish Congress, and both he and Count Ciano repeatedly gave assurances to Zionist leaders of their sympathy with Jewish aims in Palestine, even though their hints on the desirability of an Italian mandate for that country fell on deaf ears. But neither the example of Mussolini, nor his occasional intervention at the request of Italian Jews, made any impression on the Nazis. It is important to notice as indicative of the demonic fanaticism behind Hitler's anti-Semitism that when he began to put his theories into practice on his accession to power he did so in the face of the knowledge that he was being condemned by the responsible press of the whole of Europe—democratic, communist and fascist.

Within two months of Hitler's appointment as Chancellor, the Nazis had organized the anti-Jewish boycott which was to begin on April 1, 1933, and was intended to last three days. The boycott was organized on a scale and with a thoroughness which reflected the determination of the Nazis to destroy the economic foundations of Jewish life in Germany at a single blow. But for the outcry of protest which arose from every civilized community throughout the world and the private intervention of leading members of foreign governments, there can be no doubt that these three days would have been accompanied by destruction and pogroms on a large scale. But the Western world had not yet become accustomed to regarding the massacre of Jews by the Nazis as a matter of course, and the protest was sufficiently strong and sustained to compel the Nazis to modify their plan. Accordingly Goebbels announced on

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the eve of the boycott that it would last only one day, but would be resumed if the protests against Nazi anti-Semitism did not cease. They did not cease, but the boycott was not resumed. The Jewish community in Germany apparently received a new lease of life, and the democratic world continued to watch the situation in the hope or expectation that Hitler would be sobered by the responsibility of power.

It was the first occasion on which the intervention of the outside world came to the effective aid of the victims of Hitlerism. It need not have been the last had democratic statesmen realized in time the true nature of the Nazi doctrine and the extent to which its aggressive purposes were tied up with the use of anti-Semitism as an instrument of political expansion. The blunt truth is that the Jews were abandoned to their fate while democratic statesmen acquiesced in the lawless growth of the Nazi power and sometimes even gave it the sanction of treaties in the vain hope of buying peace by concessions to aggression.

But it is impossible to argue that while the democracies are under an obligation to suppress the slave trade or cannibalism they can be content to oppose massacre and outrage with mere eloquence. In accepting moral defeat, the democratic governments became accessories after the fact. Nor, as these pages will show, have they yet purged their guilt. The excuse once was that no risks must be taken in the maintenance of peace; the excuse now is that no risks must be taken in the conduct of war. Even if this kind of plea has always been properly advanced, which is at least open to doubt, the constant refusal to do right because it entails the taking of risks amounts to a denial of the moral laws.

It is, moreover, nothing less than tragic that the carnage of these bloody years, which is the plain consequence of an earlier refusal to take risks, has not yet taught us that the substitution of expediency for statesmanship is not only morally wrong but an invitation to disaster. In 1933 the democratic statesmen lulled their consciences to sleep with the reflection that anti-Semitism was a mere by-product of the Nazi system and its existence, however deplorable, must not be allowed to interfere with the main business of keeping the Nazi beast quiet. It is an astonishing and disquieting fact that during the long series of negotiations and conferences which culminated in Munich, and which were marked by a constant stream of major concessions to the Nazis, no serious attempt was made by the democratic governments to obtain at least a modification of anti-Jewish barbarism as part of the price of admission into decent international society. There was at times, on the contrary, a marked impatience in official circles with the agitation against the Nazi policy of persecution, especially when it took the form of a voluntary boycott of German goods and services. The governments took the view that they were rendered helpless by consideration of higher policy, the purposes of that policy being to maintain peace at any price. It is right that these things should be remembered at a time when perilously similar arguments are being advanced against action now.

When the late Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister, received a deputation in 1933 which begged for the intervention of the British government on behalf of the helpless Jewish minority in Germany, he gravely explained that the Nazi leaders were beyond the reach of argument in these matters. And he asked the deputation whether they could seriously expect him to jeopardize the peace of Europe for the sake of the Jews. The Jewish leaders who were present naturally recoiled from this prospect and protested that nothing was further from their minds. They, like the Prime Minister, had in their high-minded innocence swallowed whole a particularly ingenious piece of Nazi propaganda. As the sufferings of the Jews increased, the Nazi propaganda claim that the Jews were planning a war of revenge gained in plausibility. It was sooner or later repeated by pacifists and isolationists in all the free legislatures. And with every repetition the statesmen became more reluctant to act, and some went so far as to urge the Jews to damp down their agitation lest more evil befall in the shape of a spreading anti-Semitism.

Heavy industry and high finance added their powerful arguments, and in some countries the anti-Nazi boycott was actually prohibited. The main streams of international trade and exchange are largely governed by the operations of the international cartel system, which proceeded on its way in sublime indifference, as we have other reasons for knowing, to the moral and international issues involved in the growth of Nazi power. But the anti-Nazi boycott was an irritation and might become a danger. There was one interesting and significant incident in this connection which ought to be placed on record. A leading Jewish industrialist in Britain, whose enterprise occupied a key position in an international cartel, had allowed his indignation to get the better of his economic interests. A man of magnanimous spirit, he was prepared to make sacrifices rather than aid in the economic strengthening of a system which he loathed. But his colleagues thought otherwise. Even an industrialist becomes a cog in the impersonal machine which he helps to operate. He was given the alternative of resigning from his board or from the leadership of the boycott.

In the meantime the international financial houses, which have been so ironically accused by the Nazis of fomenting the war, were busily engaged in throwing good money after bad in Germany. The Nazi leaders, who in their day of evangelical fervor had denounced the wickedness of usury, were gratefully recognized as the enemies of Bolshevism, the guardians of financial virtue and the protectors of honest investment. The reassuring figure of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht appeared in the foreground, and Gottfried Feder and the wild-eyed

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theorists of the primitive Nazi evangel receded into the shadows. The City of London breathed a sigh of relief and contributed generously to refugee charity.

But there were some who remembered that the City had once been the home of a great libertarian tradition, that whenever minorities had been persecuted or massacred, great meetings of protest had been summoned by the Lord Mayors at the Guildhall, whose ancient walls had resounded to the voices of Britain's foremost orators. An attempt was made to renew that tradition. A requisition, signed by eminent churchmen and by statesmen of the rank of Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, was addressed to the Lord Mayor. It was denied. The task of organizing a meeting of national protest elsewhere was left to a private committee. The City, whose "ancient liberties" were safeguarded in the Magna Charta, and which for centuries had been the capital and hearth of English-speaking democracy, chose to be officially silent in the face of an international wrong infinitely more grievous than any against which it had hitherto protested.

These defections from the standards and values of democracy were both stimulated and exploited by the Gestapo. Its forces were deployed in every country in support of isolation and neutrality. The greatest successes of this policy were achieved in the United States, where the demand for neutrality legislation grew greater as the Hitlerite persecution grew bloodier. The Nazi agents did not, of course, invent isolationism, but with the aid of a hundred instrumentalities they were able to intensify it, canalize it and bring its influence to bear on all the agencies of government. It is not necessary to repeat the painful story of the columns which they contributed to The Congressional Record, and which were disseminated in thousands of copies at the public expense. But it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the withdrawal of the United States into neutrality meant the effective removal of any moral restraint which this country might have exercised on the Nazis.

The result of Gestapo influence on Jewish public opinion is not so well known but was nevertheless considerable. Institutes for the study of the Jewish problem were established in Germany and a special Jewish section of the Gestapo was formed. The men who headed this section were carefully trained and acquired a knowledge of Jewish movements and personalities throughout the world. Their spies were everywhere: at international Jewish conferences and even in the social institutions created for the reception of refugees. In scores of places where refugees congregated, notices had been posted warning them that they were being overheard. The terror spread all over Europe and into America. The Nazis made it clear that they were holding the Jews who remained in Germany as hostages and that they would be punished for any sign of hostility on the part of refugees or the Jewish community. The result was the creation of a tremendous volume of resistance to the policy of protest. Refugees who had left families behind them made piteous appeals for restraint. Organizations with branches in Germany threw all their weight against the anti-Nazi boycott. The efforts of the more militant Jewish leaders were everywhere opposed and largely nullified. And a new terror invaded Jewish life—the terror of being accused of planning a Jewish war of revenge.

No democrat can read the history of the years 1933 to 1939 without shame. It reads like an indictment of Western civilization. A new barbarism which trampled on all the values of civilization was permitted with only the feeblest of protests to crush its helpless minorities, to annex neighboring territories and to build up the mightiest machine for military aggression which the world had ever seen; and while this was happening, commercial intercourse went on without interruption, the diplomatic proprieties continued to be observed and Germany continued to draw from her potential victims the supplies which she would one day use against them. The root of the evil was not that there was a lack of humanity in democratic countries. Many tens of thousands of families opened their homes in Britain and in European countries to strangers whose only claim on their hospitality was that they were refugees from Nazi oppression; and billions of dollars were collected by refugee funds throughout the world. The root of the evil lay in the anarchism and amoralism of international relations. In such an environment there can be no effective remedy against aggressive anti-Semitism and all its bloody consequences. It was a principal instrument in the hands of the Nazis in their climb to power in Germany as we have shown. It ceased to be a domestic problem when streams of refugees crossed the German frontiers into neighboring countries, but these countries had no remedy—save war. When Nazi agents, native or immigrant, fomented anti-Semitism in every democratic country and thereby recruited adherents for Hitlerism and opened the way for Nazi influence, these countries had no effective remedy—save war.

There are no frontiers against ideas. Anti-Semitism can only be dealt with intelligently as an international problem by an international organization armed with adequate sanctions. The first step must be taken toward the development of an international bill of rights—as essential a sequel to the formation of an association of nations as was the American Bill of Rights to the establishment of the United States. Nor is this necessary only, or even primarily, in the Jewish interest. When the successors of Palmerston and Gladstone, the heirs of Jefferson and Lincoln, abandoned the Jews to their fate, they persuaded themselves that it was the price of peace. We know now that when they abandoned the Jews, they condemned the children of their own people to the fires of war.

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Hitler's War on the Jews

THE MALIGNANT INGENUITY of the Nazis has produced what amounts to a new science of jurisprudence to deal with the Jew. In the Reich itself more than two thousand anti-Jewish laws, decrees and administrative orders have been published, and the vassal states have largely followed suit. This body of law, the effect of which is to make the Jew an outcast, may be briefly summarized under three heads:

1. The Jew is excluded from practically all professions and most trades. He is forbidden to own or work on the land. Under a system of legalized robbery, he is deprived of industrial and commercial property. The consequence has been to reduce the majority to a state of beggary. Unlike their neighbors, the Jews are practically deprived of the possibilities of earning any kind of living.

2. The Jew is socially segregated and compelled to wear conspicuous marks which distinguish him from the rest of the population. He is forbidden access to parks, places of recreation and public institutions; his children are excluded from the public schools. He is compelled to live in specially designated areas or ghettos, which are always overcrowded and insanitary. He is subject to the severest discrimination in all matters affecting rationing. In Poland, for example, Poles are entitled roughly to half the rations of Germans, but Jews are entitled to only half of the Polish rations; and even these are rarely available, since Jews are further restricted both as to the place and hour of purchase. The result is a staggering death rate, due to starvation and the unchecked ravages of disease. The mere business of daily existence has become an agony to millions of Jews.

3. Jews are liable, without warning, to be rounded up regardless of age, infirmity or family ties—and transported to the East. Without adequate food or shelter, they are put to heavy labor on military works and fortifications until they collapse or are done to death.

The deportation of the Jews of Axis Europe to Nazi-occupied Russia, where they are massacred by machine-gun fire and poison gas or their destruction is ensured by a system of forced labor, starvation and exposure, continues without interruption. Of the seven and a half or eight million Jews who lived in the territories now controlled by Nazi Germany and her satellites at the outbreak of the war, some three million have already perished; and the remainder continue to exist from day to day under the shadow of an inexorable doom. The failure of the democratic powers to make any sustained and determined effort to stay the tide of slaughter constitutes one of the major tragedies in the history of civilization; and the moral weakness which has palsied the hands of our statesmen is nowhere more vividly disclosed than in the now conventional formula, so often on their lips, that only victory will save the Jews of Europe. Will any of these Jews survive to celebrate victory? The mind recoils from the thought that a whole people may be in process of annihilation, but nothing is to be gained by a refusal to face reality, however grim and painful.

Save for a handful of fugitives in hiding, Germany has been cleared of Jews, as have Yugoslavia and large areas of Poland. Only pitiful remnants survive in Belgium, Holland, the Baltic countries, Bohemia and Slovakia to await the day of deportation and death. A man may travel from Amsterdam to Warsaw, pass through scores of cities where great and historic Jewish communities have existed for a thousand years, and not encounter a single Jew. Already nearly half of European Jewry has been destroyed, and the tide of slaughter gathers momentum as it flows. From every corner of Europe, from Paris to Salonika and from Riga to Bucharest, sealed railroad trucks packed with victims travel for days across Europe and deposit their human freight at concentration camps along the eastern marches of Hitler's empire. Many of the victims die on the way; others are dispatched on arrival if they are unfit for labor; and the remainder are subjected to the unspeakable horrors of the camps, which can have only one end. The experts of the World Jewish Congress, who have watched this process day by day as it is revealed in the Axis press and by underground sources, estimate that the deportations have brought the number of Jews concentrated behind the Eastern Front to two million. How long will these survive? Nor will the approach of victory revive hope, for it is certain that when retreat begins the enemy will count life very cheap; and not Jewish life alone.

The satellite powers have followed a little more haltingly in the footsteps of their Nazi masters, and the Italians, though they have been guilty of many crimes, shine by comparison. Except for the Rumanian fascists, whom long practice has made past masters in the art of murder, they have shown some reluctance to go beyond legalized robbery and forced labor. Both in Hungary and Bulgaria there is strong local opposition to a policy of extermination, and in these countries and Rumania there have been significant signs of a disposition to resist the pressure of a Nazi Germany which has plainly passed the peak of her power. But that pressure remains strong and relentless. Only a counter pressure equally strong and equally relentless from the United Nations can save the 1,500,000 Jews now in Hungary and the Balkans.

This is the situation of the Jew in occupied Europe. It differs in detail from place to place, and in some areas his lot has been eased by the sympathy and help which has courageously been shown him by his neighbors, often at the peril of their lives. But the end is

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always the same: deportation and death. And all this he bears for no other reason than that he is a Jew. There is nothing that he can do to escape this fate. No gift of skill or record of service, no act of acquiescence or submission can save him. Every Jew under Nazi jurisdiction is condemned by his birth to unnatural death.

The fate of the subject peoples is hard, but it is not this. The Polish or Slovak peasant, the French or Czech workman, has at least the opportunity of life and labor—and hope. Even the German Communist can find safety as a storm trooper of the famous "beefsteak" variety—brown outside and red underneath. Can there be any doubt that Hitler's war on the Jews has created a special problem that calls for special and urgent measures of rescue?

If the Nazis are allowed to achieve their avowed purpose, which is the total destruction of Jewish life in Europe, civilization will have suffered a moral disaster so overwhelming that military victory will be unable to avert its consequences. No military victory can recall a dead people from its graves. And the murder of a whole people will have been added as a new military objective to the textbooks of aggressive despotism to plague the post-war world. Either the Jewish remnant in Europe will be saved or their ghosts will haunt the chancelleries of the Western world for generations. It is not yet too late.

It is an essential prerequisite to effective action that the existence of a distinctive Jewish problem in Europe should at least be recognized. Hitherto, the Allied governments as a whole have limited themselves to efforts designed to ameliorate what is known as the refugee situation. It is impossible to scrutinize the record of these efforts without coming, however reluctantly, to the conclusion that the governments have deliberately and studiously avoided any practical commitment which would imply any special obligation arising out of the Nazi war on the Jews. This is not to say that Allied statesmen have not from time to time spoken out in denunciation of anti-Jewish outrages, but every official act has been based on the implied assumption that there is no essential difference between the situation of the Jewish and the non-Jewish inhabitants of occupied Europe.

In January, 1942, the Governments-in-Exile met at St. James' Palace, London—America, Britain, China and Russia being represented by observers—and adopted a statement on the punishment of war crimes. No one would guess from the crimes listed in this important document that the greatest of all, the murder of a people, was even then being perpetrated, or that there was a whole series of crimes of which the Jews alone were the victims. The same official blind eye was turned to reality not long afterwards in the United States, where the relief wisely granted to Austrians and Italians from the disabilities of enemy-alien status was denied to the Jewish refugees from Germany. Though Jews who have left Germany have by law been deprived of their German nationality, and though there can hardly be any people more bitterly hostile to the Nazi regime, they remain German nationals in the eyes of the law and subject to all the disabilities of legal enemies. Once again no official notice can be taken of Hitler's war on the Jews.

But perhaps the most striking example of the attitude is to be found in the official statements preceding the Anglo-American Conference on Refugees at Bermuda. The delegates were expressly instructed to deal with the refugee problem as it affected all races and creeds. Ministers were at pains in the House of Commons to point out that the refugee problem is not exclusively Jewish, which is of course true; but a conference called primarily to consider the situation of refugees already outside Hitler's empire could only very indirectly be concerned with the victims of Hitler's war on the Jews. The Bermuda Conference doubtless achieved creditable results, though they remain a closely guarded secret; but so far as the Jewish situation in Europe is concerned, the position is what it was before the conference was called, except that in the meantime many thousands of Jews have perished and Hitler is measurably nearer his goal of extermination.

What justification is there for the official attitude? We may dismiss as casuistry the explanation, sometimes advanced by high officials of Allied governments, that any special effort on behalf of the Jews would be a recognition of the validity of Hitler's theories. The idea of non-recognition seems to exercise a peculiar fascination on the diplomatic mind. In the world of legal fictions in which diplomats sometimes take refuge from harsh and revolutionary facts, it may seem plausible to believe that what is not recognized does not exist; but in the world of bitter reality in which the European Jew struggles for life, the doctrine of non-recognition sounds like mockery.

The difference between the lot of the Jew and of the so-called Aryan in occupied countries is as the difference between one world and another. It is true that the Nazis have inflicted unspeakable wrongs on the whole of the subject populations, that they have left scars on every national life they have touched, which it will take a generation to heal. But still the difference between the situation of the Jew and the non-Jew is fundamental. It is not merely that on the Jew has been thrust once again the melancholy privilege of standing at the apex of the hierarchy of suffering; the difference lies deeper than that. The non-Jew is sustained by the hope of survival and of ultimate victory; the Jew ekes out a miserable existence under the shadow of a doom that is inexorable. He not only shares the privations and disabilities of his fellow citizens of other races and faiths, but he is subject to others which are peculiarly his own. He, like them, is a prisoner of the Nazis, but he is lodged in a prison within a prison, and in this inner prison every inhabitant is condemned to death.

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WE CAN STILL RESCUE T

Early in December, 1942, the State Department in Washington gave detailed figures showing that Hitler has murdered two million Jews in Axis-controlled Europe. The figures can now be revised to upward of three million.

Less than three million Jews now remain alive in Nazi-controlled Europe. They are doomed to death unless the civilized democratic world does something at once to rescue them from a horrible fate.

IT IS OUR CONVICTION THAT THESE JEWS CAN AND MUST BE RESCUED.

The defeat of our enemy is certain. But Hitler, Goebbels, Ley, and other Nazi chieftains have promised—and they made it clear beyond the shadow of a doubt—that when the German armies will be forced to leave the occupied lands, they will not leave a single Jew alive in their retreat.

The delegates to the coming peace conference may meet on the graves of the entire Jewish people of Europe.

What has the free, civilized and liberal world done until now to rescue the Jews of Europe from Hitler's death-chambers?

Practically nothing.

No one can plead ignorance; no one can say that he did not know the facts in all their gruesomeness in time. The Jewish Labor Committee, on the basis of underground reports received from Axis-occupied Europe, has systematically been informing the people of America of what is happening to Jews in the Nazi torture-chambers, ghettos and concentration camps.

THE WORLD KNEW BUT REMAINED PASSIVE.

An eye-witness account recently received by the Polish Government in London relates: "One million Jews from Poland and from outside Polish borders lie buried in mass-graves of the Treblinka slaughter camps. The fields and valleys surrounding Treblinka have swallowed the bodies of one million Jewish men, women and children who have been fooled by Nazi authorities. When they were evacuated from their homes, these Jews were promised life and were given instead, death."

While they were being driven to their death, in their last moments of agony, these Jews appealed to the civilized world for help. But their cries were in vain. Their appeal fell on deaf ears.

There is no point in pretending. The Bermuda Conference, which was supposed to have done something for these victims of Nazi brutality, was a failure. The governments of the United Nations, on their parts, merely limited themselves to a declaration in the press to the effect that after the war the chief perpetrators of the crimes will be tried and perhaps punished.

In the meantime, the systematic extermination of the Jews in the ghettos of Poland and other parts of Europe continues. We have before us reports, sent out of Poland through underground channels, which show that between July 23, and August 1, 1942, 64,000 Jews were killed by the Nazis in the city of Warsaw alone, and 142,535 between August 1, and September 1, 1942.

During the same period there were "far-sighted" statesmen in the United States and Great Britain who advised us not to make too much fuss about the murder of Jews; not to cry out; not to appeal for help, lest the impression be created that we are fighting the war to save Jews, and this might harm the war effort.

But "statesmen" who believe that the world should remain silent while a historic people is being mercilessly exterminated; while millions of innocent human beings, men and women, old and young, are being ruthlessly murdered, cannot win the war and must certainly lose the peace.

One cannot fight for the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms and pass over in silence the crimes of the Nazis.

The hour is late. One cannot bring back to life the three million Jews who are dead.

HOWEVER, THE JEWISH REMNANTS IN EUROPE CAN AND MUST BE RESCUED.

The hopes of the Jewish people are inextricably linked with the victory of the democracies; with the triumph of freedom and justice everywhere. But if the democracies do not undertake, immediately, to save those who are still breathing, all talk, all plans for the reconstruction of Jewish life after the war, will merely be empty gestures.

Now that the German armies are being beaten, when even the most hardened Nazi feels that the day of reckoning is near, it is the duty of the United Nations and the commanders of the Allied armies to speak out boldly and clearly; to warn Germany that she will have to pay dearly for the butchery of the Jews. The Germans must be warned to stop the murders at once.

The latest events in Italy have placed in jeopardy the lives of hundreds of thousands of Jews in the Balkans and in the French regions occupied by the Italians. When the Germans take full possession of these territories, there is no doubt that they will exterminate the Jewish population. We must, therefore, make it as clear as possible to every German soldier and officer that he will be held accountable with his life for Jewish blood shed in vain.

At the same time, we must bend every effort to inform

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE, 175 E

AFFILIATED

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union • Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
Forward Association • Jewish Socialist Verband • Jewish Writers' Union
New York Joint Board, Amalgamated Union • Bakers' Union • United Hebrew Trades • N. Y. Joint Board Millinery Worker
Central School Committee, Workmen's Circle • English Speaking Section, Workmen's Circle • Greater New York Bakers' Joi
Painters' District Council No. 9 • Capmakers' Union, Local 2 • Roumanian Labor League • N. Y. Joint Board Neckwe
Hebrew Butchers' Union • Pantsmakers' Joint Board,

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HOSE WHO REMAIN ALIVE

the people inside Germany about the whole truth of the mass-murder of Jews—the truth about the cold-blooded and brutal extermination of innocent men, women and children; about the hermetically sealed cars where Jews are being poisoned; and of the death-chambers in the cities of Belzec and Treblinka. We have enough planes and radios to bring this story to the German people.

Let there not be a single German who will be able to say that he did not know the whole truth.

» » » »

The victims of Nazism are still waiting to hear the declaration by the United Nations which will bring them hope and solace; a declaration which will tell them simply and unequivocally: *in this hour of grave danger we have opened wide the doors of our countries to those who may succeed in escaping from the Nazi hell.*

Such a declaration must be made. The doors of the Allied countries must be opened to Hitler's victims. One cannot speak of humanity behind doors barred to men, women and children pursued by the enemy.

We cannot speak of justice and freedom when we commit an injustice against those who plead for their lives. It is mockery to proclaim the ideal of brotherhood when we lock our doors to those who may save themselves from the death-chambers.

A solemn declaration on the part of the United Nations that their countries are open to those who escape from the ghettos and concentration camps, will give convincing proof to the Nazis that we are in dead earnest when we say that the murderers will pay with their lives for their crimes. It would also give renewed faith in the democracies to the tortured Jews.

The people of America must understand this. They must feel it. No American can sit peacefully in his home when he knows that the tortured and hunted are knocking at his door and pleading for help.

» » » »

Months ago the Jewish Labor Committee requested that food be sent to the starving people in the ghettos. The Jews in the ghettos can no longer be regarded as civilians. They are prisoners of war; they are prisoners of death. But our appeal for food has thus far been left unheeded. Yet food has and can be sent to the starving populations in Nazi-occupied Europe.

On August 7, 1942, three ships with food left from Canada for Greece. During the entire year of 1942, twenty-six such ships came to Axis-occupied Greece from Allied countries to feed the starving Greek population. At the same time the Red Cross gave to the people of Greece 100,000 food packages. Had this food not been sent—and this has been confirmed by the authorities here—90% of the Greek population would have starved to death.

It is indeed proper, and in accordance with the humanitarian ideals of democracy, that this food was sent to Greece. We rejoice that hundreds of thousands of human beings were prevented from starving.

But the Jews of the ghettos in Europe are also pleading for food. Three million hungry men, women and children have asked us for bread. Not even a single loaf has thus far been sent to them by the United Nations.

» » » »

On April 23, 1943, thirty-five thousand desperate Jews in the ghetto of Warsaw—the last remnants of a population of 400,000—rose in armed rebellion against their Nazi tormentors, with weapons supplied them by the Polish underground movement. For more than three weeks this unequal battle raged. The Germans used tanks and airplanes; the Jews fought with rifles and a few machine-guns. Although hundreds of Germans were killed the Warsaw ghetto became a huge cemetery. Not a single Jew remained alive.

But there are still, today, in Eastern Europe, thousands of hungry and tortured Jews who ask for but one thing: *food for those who are still alive in the ghettos.*

We have reason to believe that the International Red Cross is in a position to send them food. Let the United Nations have the will to do so and give their consent to the Red Cross, and this will be done.

We have indicated three vital measures that must be undertaken at once if the civilized world is actually sincere in its intentions to bring succor to the Jews of Nazi-controlled Europe.

The Jewish Labor Committee, which represents 500,000 organized Jewish workers in the United States and Canada, appeals to American labor, to all progressive and liberal people of the United States, to the Government of the United States, to make their voices heard in behalf of the Jews in the ghettos, torture-chambers and concentration camps. Measures must be instituted at once to save our fellow-men and loyal allies from total extinction at the hands of the Nazi hangmen.

We are firmly convinced that every American man and woman who believes in the undying principles of freedom and democracy will support our appeal.

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RGANIZATIONS *United Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers' International Union • Workmen's Circle New York Joint Board, Cloakmakers' Union • New York Joint Board, Dressmakers' Union Union, Locals 24 & 42 • Hebrew American Typographical Union, Local 83 • Suitcase, Bag and Portfolio Makers' Union Council • Jewish Workers Party, Left Poale Zion • International Ladies' Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers' Union Workers, Locals 250 & 253, A.C.W.A. • Retail, Wholesale and Chain Store Food Employees' Union, Local 338 A.C.W.A. • Committee for Jewish Masses in Poland.*

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Retribution

THE UNITED NATIONS have one instrument at their disposal which, if effectively used, can help in making the policy of extermination immensely more difficult to carry out and may succeed in saving the lives of thousands of people; and that is the promise of retribution. It must be made clear that by retribution is not meant revenge, though if the United Nations fail to mete out retribution through properly constituted judicial agencies, the peoples of the occupied countries will undoubtedly take the law into their own hands when the day of reckoning comes. Revenge is morally wrong and indiscriminate, falling on the innocent and guilty alike, but if there is no lawful redress, man's righteous wrath is apt to find passionate and unconsidered expression. If the Anglo-American powers do not want to find themselves under the necessity of providing military protection for their enemies against their friends, they must give early and convincing evidence of their intention to bring the Axis criminals to justice. It is pertinent to remember that the German people is represented by numerous settlements which form an almost continuous chain from the Baltic to the Black Sea. They will all find themselves in a very unenviable situation when the German armies retreat. Hitler's "migromania" has by no means succeeded in bringing all these millions back to the homeland of their ancestors.

Nor must retribution be confused with reprisals. There has been an understandable demand for reprisals, both from representatives of the victimized populations and members of their Governments-in-Exile—reprisals against Germany itself and reprisals against Nazis held abroad. There are good reasons why this course cannot be adopted, quite apart from the ethical issues involved. In the strictly military field reprisals are permissible and sometimes inevitable; if the Germans use poison gas, we shall be compelled to do the same. And there is no doubt that it is only the fear of reprisals that has held the Nazi High Command in check. But in the civilian field, reprisals are only a variation of revenge. Moreover, nothing that we can do to German civilians will deter the Nazis.

The promise of retribution means simply the pledge that the Axis leaders and their agents and dupes will be brought to justice for their crimes when victory shall have been achieved. It is a promise, let it be noted, that is not only directed to the enemy but is at the same time a pledge made to the populations of the occupied countries and to the civilized world. This sort of promise has repeatedly and in the most unequivocal terms been made by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, who have undertaken that the criminals will be held to "strict accountability." To what extent these statements have had a deterrent effect it is manifestly difficult to say. There are significant signs that they have been heeded in the satellite countries. But in the territories under direct German military occupation the slaughter goes on without interruption.

No objective observer, whether Allied or neutral, can fail to be convinced that the President and Prime Minister mean exactly what they say, and that they are determined to see that the pledge is kept both in the spirit and the letter; their record and views are in themselves a sufficient guarantee. But is it so certain that the Nazis are equally convinced? For if they are not, they will clearly not take the pledge seriously and its present value will be diminished, if not altogether nullified. Unhappily the handling of the problem of retribution both in the last war and in this has provided, to put it mildly, ground for skepticism.

Clearly this problem has not received the consideration by public opinion which its gravity demands; nor have the governments moved in the matter with an energy which is likely to impress the Germans before it is too late. It was in October last that the British Lord Chancellor announced in the House of Lords that the United Nations had decided to set up a Commission on War Crimes. Yet the commission has not yet been constituted and it is not even known whether all its members have been appointed. Why is there so much delay, and why does not the commission meet at once to undertake its immense mass of work?

The Russians have intimated that they have made their appointment; the British continue to withhold the announcement of the name of their member. As the American member, the President has made a most admirable appointment in the person of Mr. Herbert Pell. But the first essential to make the promise of retribution immediately effective is that the commission should meet in London and immediately set to work. It would indicate to all whom it may concern that the United Nations mean business.

An immense mass of work awaits the commission. The Governments-in-Exile have already assembled evidence on the basis of which a list of 25,000 criminals has been drawn up, and to this the Russians have their own considerable list to add, based on evidence patiently gathered by their own research institutions, which have been at work for many months. It will manifestly be a convenience as well as an act of justice if the Governments-in-Exile are supported in their intention to establish concurrent, if subsidiary, tribunals to try the criminals, native or Nazi, who have been guilty of treason or outrage on their own territories. But Hitler and principal accomplices must be consid-

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ered, as a famous European statesman put it, "to belong to humanity."

It would be monstrous if the neutrals, who have themselves so often been the victims of lawless Nazi pressure, as witness the Swedish acquiescence in the transport of Nazi troops across neutral territory, should persist in the view that Hitler and his agents are entitled to be treated as merely political refugees.

The manner in which the United Nations commission does its work will be an important factor in influencing the course of events in Europe. The statements made at its formal opening session, the results of its inquiries, the names of the accused and the nature of their crimes, should be broadcast incessantly and the information disseminated by leaflet dropped from the air. Every channel of publicity must be used without interruption to bring home to those who can still be restrained what will be the consequence of their crimes; and it is no less important to make it clear that help rendered to the victims of Hitlerism and refusal to participate in outrage will be taken into consideration at the appropriate time by the Allied authorities. The German people must be made aware of the monstrous crimes which are being committed in their name beyond their borders; we may still hope that some of them will be revolted, and that their reaction will at least create a new problem for their Nazi masters.

It must always be borne in mind that in the deportations and massacres, thousands of non-Germans are employed, ranging from French police to Croatian fascists. Many of these non-Germans are hopelessly committed to the Nazi cause, but thousands who have yielded to economic pressure, or the promise of preferential treatment, can be held back. And as the prospect of democratic victory comes nearer, the pressure of their own fellow countrymen will become greater. There is authentic evidence that French storm troopers have hesitated to attack Jews because they fear an Allied victory. About the readiness of the satellite states to yield to Allied warnings there is now no shadow of a doubt.

The United Nations commission on war crimes could well become an important instrument of political warfare; it could certainly avert the murder of the million and a half Jews in satellite countries, and perhaps many thousand beyond. There is here, surely, no military difficulty to overcome. The advance of the Allied forces on every front will only add force to the warnings of the commission. That advance, indeed, will make the work of the commission more urgent and important in certain respects, as the example of Italy shows. The Italian Jews, and Jewish refugees of various nationalities in Italy, were saved from deportation and death by the fall of Mussolini. In addition, as the Italian armies began their retirement from France and Yugoslavia they were followed by thousands of Jewish refugees who knew they would be doomed if they came under Nazi jurisdiction. Will Badoglio yield to German demands to surrender these Jews, or perhaps place them under Nazi control in Italy itself? If he does, it will only be because the Allies will have failed to make clear that such a course would be followed by penalties. It is one more argument for the immediate constitution of the commission.

The Responsibility of the Democracies

From the latest information it is evident that the Germans with ruthless cruelty are now murdering the few remaining Jews in Poland. Behind the walls of the ghettos the last act of a tragedy unprecedented in history is being performed. The responsibility for this crime falls in the first instance on the perpetrators, but indirectly it weighs on the whole of humanity, the peoples and the governments of the Allied States, which so far have made no effort toward concrete action for the purpose of curtailing this crime.

THESE WORDS are extracted from a letter written to the late Prime Minister of Poland, General Sikorski, in May of this year by Samuel Zygielbojm, one of the representatives of the Jewish population in the Polish National Council. Receiving day by day as he did authentic information of the most appalling character from underground sources, he had sought for many months in vain to move Allied statesmen in London to vigorous action. He was told that his demands could not be met by reasons of military expediency; he was put off with sympathetic generalities. But clearly the refusal of some measures, like the recognition of the right of asylum, for all who managed to escape from Nazi-occupied Europe, which did not affect the conduct of the war, showed that what was lacking was the will to act and take such risks as were involved. He was driven to the desperate expedient of suicide in an effort to awaken the conscience of the world, and this letter was found among his effects in his London flat. "By my death," he wrote, "I wish to express my strongest protest against the inactivity with which the world is looking on and permitting the extermination of the Jewish people."

When the victims of Hitlerism have come to believe, as this letter shows, that the democracies are indifferent to their fate, and when that belief is shared by their persecutors, it is surely right to ask whether the time has not come for a reconsideration of the whole problem. It augurs ill for the future peace and stability of

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Europe if its inhabitants are losing faith in those whose victory will determine their fate. The war is not an end in itself. Nor is its sole purpose the purely negative one of destroying Hitlerism. We shall be hard put to it to justify the outpouring of blood and treasure which this war demands unless we extract the last ounce of good out of it for humanity. We shall not do that if we are content to make a desert and call it peace.

Some of the foremost leaders in all the churches, in political life and in the world of intellectual activity, have realized that the sincerity of our professed war aims must become suspect if we fail to intervene energetically on behalf of the Jews of Europe. The churches in Britain and America have joined in a "Day of Compassion." There have been meetings and conferences on a large scale. Programs of rescue have been drafted in detail by men of expert knowledge. The governments now know that any action they may undertake, whatever risks they may choose to run, will have the support of a large and influential body of opinion. But the response of the governments has been feeble.

Public opinion, as voiced in both Houses of the British Parliament and by eminent clergy and other distinguished public men in both the United States and Great Britain, has pressed in particular for two measures: (1), that Hitler should be asked through an intermediary to lift the ban against Jewish emigration; and (2), that the democracies should offer asylum in Palestine and their own lands and dependencies. The first proposal was flatly turned down on the ground that if Hitler acceded to the request it would only be because it would bring him some advantage. The second was met by protestations that it was really impossible for the British Empire and the United States to find room for any but the smallest numbers.

What advantage Hitler could be supposed to derive from letting the Jews go, it is difficult to say, unless it were in a belated attempt to reëstablish his own respectability in a world grown skeptical of his claim to be a champion of "culture." Certainly he is not moved overmuch by the problem of feeding the Jews. But it is not important. What is important is that the Allies failed to strengthen their own moral position by making the request. Moreover, the appeal to the argument of military expediency looks a little shabby in the light of the failure for a year to bomb Rome—an immunity from which the Axis must have derived immense military advantage.

But what is far more serious is the refusal to offer even temporary asylum to the Jews, who might thereby be encouraged to seek escape from Hitler's Europe. The story of the refugee ships which for weeks, and sometimes months, sought in vain in the Mediterranean and the Western Atlantic to find a port which would receive their desperate human cargo is one of the most shocking in contemporary history. It casts a strange light on the quality of our civilization. What is not less important, the attitude of the democratic governments has put a powerful weapon at the disposal of the enemy's propaganda. The following sentences which occur in an article published in the Völkischer Beobachter on June 20 are eloquent:

> All the talk about the disappearance of Jewry from Europe is striking proof of the insincerity of enemy propaganda. For years the democratic world has had time to demonstrate in action its alleged love for Jewry by opening its frontiers to them.

These sentiments are incessantly reiterated in the Axis press of Europe. It is made to appear that while the Allies are always prepared for reasons of propaganda to go through the motions of public sympathy, they are unwilling to do anything about it. The mockery of the Nazis only adds to the agony of their victims. Through every underground channel comes the despairing cry of the victims that they have been deserted. If the democracies are to save their own souls and effect the rescue of at least a remnant of European Jewry, plainly they must act now; and action must be not only swift but bold.

There are two ways in which the governments can act immediately to restore confidence in the sincerity of their desire to come to the rescue of Jews in Nazi captivity. The first is to call into consultation the representative Jewish bodies and the Governments-in-Exile which have a right to be heard. The distant promise to consider written proposals, to which no considered reply is ever given, can no longer be expected to carry the slightest weight. The important bodies, Jewish, non-Jewish and mixed, who have given the problem study deserve less cavalier treatment than they have received at the hands of officials. Some of them are in much closer touch with the problem than the governments. When the news of the mass extermination of the Jews was first given to the world it came from private sources, not from governments, which, indeed, took months to satisfy themselves that it was true.

Nothing illustrated better the furtive manner in which officials have gone about this business than the plans for the Anglo-American Conference on Refugees held in Bermuda. It was hardly concealed that one of the advantages of that island as a meeting place was its inaccessibility under war conditions to overzealous friends of refugees. No one who could be said even remotely to represent the interests of a population directly concerned was heard or even allowed to be present. The Jewish organizations of America and Britain were denied access to the conference. No single Government-in-Exile was invited to send as much as an observer, an extraordinary omission. The Russian government, tens of thousands of whose citizens have been murdered in occupied territory, was not present. Great international bodies, like the International Red Cross, which could play an important part in the work of

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rescue, were not called into consultation. The discussions were confined to official delegates of the two governments, and the explanation given for the exclusion of the others was that this was a "preliminary consultation." Preliminary to what? After four months there is still no coherent answer. There have been vague hints of a report on the work of the conference, but it is still awaited. The officials have only themselves to blame if having reported virtually nothing, public opinion has come to believe that they have virtually nothing to report.

Second, the time has come for the two governments to declare themselves unequivocally on the grave moral and political issues raised by the massacres. It is not enough to condemn the murderers, or even to promise punishment. Wrongs of the most monstrous kind have been committed. Will those wrongs be repaired, at least to the extent that they are reparable? Every victim still living is entitled to the assurance that as part of the peace settlement his citizenship and civil rights will be restored to him; that he will have, if he desires to exercise it, the right to return to his place of residence and work; that every form of discrimination will be abolished as the Allied armies advance; that his special needs will receive equitable and appropriate treatment at the hands of the official relief and rehabilitation authorities as they follow the armies; and that he will receive some form of compensation for the livelihood and possessions of which he has been despoiled. And for those who have been irrevocably uprooted and find it psychologically and economically impossible to return, opportunity must be provided to create a new existence elsewhere with the help of international public funds.

Altogether apart from the moral principles involved, and the propriety of using the Four Freedoms as a slogan of propaganda if these things are not intended, no stable international system can be established if these rights are denied. They are badly in need of public and formal affirmation by the United Nations if widespread disquiet is to be stilled. The military occupation of North Africa was followed by the retention and deliberate reënactment of one piece of Nazi legislation—the abrogation of the Crémieux decree. And this act, as illegal under French law as it is morally indefensible, which deprived 40,000 Algerian Jews of citizenship, still remains in force. The Allied occupation of Italian territory in North Africa has been followed by the "suspension" and not abolition of racial legislation, and this has been defended on the ground that under international law an occupying power has no right to abrogate legislation. Even if the enemy's treatment of international law had not made this argument look foolish, it has never been held to apply to laws which are patently immoral, such as those enforcing slavery. Is anti-Semitism moral? It is a painful question to have to ask, but still more painful to reflect is that whereas anti-Semitic legislation was merely "suspended" in Tripoli, it was one of Marshal Badoglio's first acts to abolish it in Italy. It is a nice legal problem for the Allied authorities to decide whether they must apply the enemy Marshal's decree of abolition or faithfully maintain Mussolini's legislation in suspension. The existence of such problems makes it indispensable that the United Nations should immediately make a firm statement of their intentions in regard to the situation that has been created by discrimination in Europe.

Asylum in Britain and America

BRITAIN is undoubtedly, by comparison with other countries, a small and crowded island, and it is now called upon to provide accommodation for large armies from abroad and for prisoners of war. Nevertheless, public opinion in that country has rightly insisted that no refugee should be denied admission if the alternative is death. The assertion of official spokesmen in the House of Commons that no refugee who has reached a British port in recent months has in fact been denied asylum is a tribute to the persistence with which men and women of courage have fought for the recognition of human rights. But British consular officers in neutral countries are still instructed to withhold visas from any but a very restricted class of refugees, even when the possession of a visa or the prospect of obtaining one by a potential refugee may obtain him transit through neutral territory or otherwise aid his escape.

The proposal has been repeatedly urged in the House of Commons that blocks of visas should be placed by the British Government at the disposal of its consular representatives for this purpose, and it might be added that they should be empowered also to issue papers of identity, on the model which the British have long followed in regard to resident aliens, where passports are lacking. That this procedure entails risks is obvious; but the risks can be fully met if the refugees are detained on arrival unless or until their identity is fully established.

A totally different system prevails in the United States, where comparatively large-scale immigration is sanctioned by law. Yet it is at least doubtful whether America has received as many refugees, as distinct from immigrants in the broader sense, as small European countries during the past few years.

The immigration policy of this country since the outbreak of the war has been so profoundly modified

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year by year that we have now reached the point where it is no longer possible to consider the United States as one of the great immigration countries. This fundamental break with tradition has been brought about without legislation, largely without the knowledge of public opinion, and solely by administrative practice. It is undoubtedly true that many insignificant crackpot organizations, most of them pro-Fascist and anti-Semitic in character, have been agitating for a complete cessation of immigration, and it is also true that a similar line has been taken by some organizations of veterans and even labor organizations fearful of the competition of cheap imported labor. But public opinion as a whole knows next to nothing about the change which has been wrought in our policy and can certainly not be considered to have given to the administration any mandate on the subject. We find it very difficult to believe that millions of American citizens, who were either immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants would, if they knew, acquiesce in the reversal of a policy which has made the United States the greatest single power in the world today. The United States might well be a more genteel place to live in if it were populated entirely by the descendants of the original Dutch and British colonists, but it could hardly hope to sustain the part which it is playing in the world today.

A few simple figures will show how immigration has been reduced from year to year until we have reached the point at which it has become insignificant. The following are the official figures for the total number of immigration visas issued for the war years and emigrant aliens leaving:

Fiscal Year	*Number of Immigrants*	*Emigrant Aliens Leaving*
1939	82,998	26,651
1940	70,756	21,461
1941	51,776	17,115
1942	28,781	7,363

These figures are especially significant in the light of the fact that under the law a total annual immigration of 153,774 is permitted from quota countries alone, which, of course, do not include Canada and other Western Hemisphere countries. An examination of the figures shows that within the framework of the existing immigration law some half-million additional people could have been admitted from quota countries. What proportion of this number has perished because visas were not available no man can compute, but that thousands have been condemned to death by this policy, unhappily cannot be disputed.

Immigration has been reduced to insignificance, certainly not because there has been any lack of applicants for visas. There have been portentous discussions between the British and American governments on the disposal of refugees of many kinds anywhere between Madrid and Teheran, and there have been loud official wailings about the difficulty of finding places of refuge. The State Department has repeatedly and emphatically pointed out that immigration into this country is governed by statute, and the impression has been widely conveyed that reluctant officials have been compelled against their will to turn away people whom they would otherwise have been glad to save. The figures we have cited show that there is no substance in these arguments, and the suggestion that a substantial American contribution to the solution of the refugee problem would entail controversial legislation is utterly without foundation. In this case the difficulty is not Hitler, because many thousands of refugees in Vichy France before the total occupation in November last, and today in neutral countries, have been able to leave without hindrance from the local authorities for the United States. Nor is shipping an insuperable obstacle because neutral passenger ships have been and are constantly arriving in this country with unoccupied space for hundreds of travelers.

The major difficulty which the immigrant has to overcome is in Washington itself. Whatever the official explanation may be, the mere technical business of obtaining a visa for an immigrant into this country has become so complex and involved that only sponsors plentifully endowed with time and money can afford to undertake the task of vouching for an immigrant. Instead of being made simpler in view of the desperate urgency of the existing need, the process has become steadily more complex. Every application for a visa has to be approved by an inter-departmental committee which represents the War, Navy and Justice Departments, as well as the State Department itself. It can well be imagined that with the difficulty of obtaining papers from Europe, it is no simple matter to satisfy the investigating machinery of all these departments. The business of investigation takes so long that when the visa is finally granted, it is often too late. Large numbers of refugees who were waiting for visas in France before the occupation of November, 1942, were in this way doomed, though their applications were many months old. To add to the difficulty, a rule has been laid down that a visa may not be granted to anyone who has a close relative in an Axis-occupied country. Since the refugees come from just such countries, this decision itself has ruled out large numbers at a single blow. It is by the use of such methods that the immigration figure was cut down to 28,000 in 1942; and of this number more than 10,000 came from Canada and some 5,000 from Latin America. The total number of immigrants from all European countries, both free and occupied was 11,153.

We do not believe that this corresponds with what the great mass of the people of this country desire. Nor is there any hope that we shall be able to persuade other countries to make a larger contribution to the solution of the problem until we change our policy.

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This proposal like many others that refugees should seek asylum in Central Africa or elsewhere obviously has no relevance to the existing situation. If the refugees are to be saved, they must be saved before it is too late, and it is unworthy of the traditions of this country to suggest that America should not play its full part in a coöperative effort to find homes for those who have escaped destruction at the hands of the Nazis.

Those who fear that immigration may lower standards are simply not acquainted with the social and economic histories of countries of immigration. An immigrant is a producer as well as a consumer. He often brings with him skills and trades which result in the expansion of industry and the provision of additional employment. The Flemings and Huguenots who found refuge from persecution in England made an immensely important contribution to the commercial expansion of that country, and what large-scale immigration has done for America every man may see in the foreign names which occur not only on the roster of those employed in war industries, but in the lists of casualties as they come from the various fronts. Australia, which has a population of about the same size as New York City, has had, because of its policy of immigration restriction, to face perils in the international field from which a generous immigration policy might have saved her, and today she looks for help to America, which has grown great because it has welcomed all men of good will who have been prepared to help build a democracy.

The time has surely come for a return to an earlier and more magnanimous attitude to human beings whose only fault is that they are victims of Hitlerism. If there is any danger that enemy agents may be among them, we would suggest again that they should be held under guard in camps until the authorities are satisfied as to their *bona fides*. But let them be brought in at once and let the possibilities under the immigration law be used mercifully and generously. Delay for them too often means death.

Measures of Immediate Aid

THERE IS NO REASON why a strengthened Intergovernmental Committee, as proposed by the Bermuda Conference, should not take charge of the general refugee problem on non-sectarian lines, but the Jewish problem in Europe, which is a different matter, calls for special and additional measures. The situation calls for the appointment of an Allied Commission provided with the necessary resources and armed with adequate powers to deal solely with the task of bringing aid to the Jews of Europe. It should work in close liaison with the military authorities, and in every appropriate case seek to provide arms for those who will use them as did the Jews of Warsaw in their last heroic stand against the Gestapo troops. Secret supplies should be sent under proper safeguards through channels now available, to localities where they could help to maintain morale and life itself. The commission would also seek to organize means of escape through the underground; and it would generally take full advantage of the discontent and corruption which permeate the whole of the machinery of Hitler's New Order.

There are many young Jews, in Palestine and elsewhere, who would welcome the opportunity to undertake the most dangerous missions against the enemy who has murdered their closest kinsfolk. This type of warfare might become of vital importance as the enemy comes to rely more and more on progressively fewer centers of supply. It is not a topic which lends itself to extensive public discussion, but it cannot be overlooked that the Allies have failed to make use of thousands of intelligent young people who would gladly have risked their lives in the cause of humanity, and have instead been left to be taken like sheep to the slaughter house. There have been thousands of suicides, and thousands of others have preferred to bribe their guards to shoot them. There is no reason why the Nazis should not be made to pay a heavy price for these lives if they must be sacrificed. But there must first be an Allied authority to make systematic use of the underground.

The problem of feeding the Jews also calls for reexamination. Hitherto projects to send food to starving people in ghettos or camps have been treated, with the rarest exceptions, as though they were projects to send delicacies for Goering's table. Food may be, and is, sent to prisoners of war or interned enemy aliens. But this privilege has been withheld from Jews in the ghettos and labor camps on the ground that it might fall into enemy hands and so nullify the blockade. But a way has been found, and properly found, with neutral help to feed the starving Greeks and it is difficult to believe that the possibilities of the use of neutral help or the help of the International Red Cross have been exhausted. This issue has been bedeviled by domestic politics in the United States; it should be completely removed from that field and urgently reëxamined by the appropriate officials in consultation with relief organizations.

In the meantime the situation of the Jews in regard to food in large areas in Europe is summed up as follows in the memorandum presented by the World Jewish Congress to the Bermuda Conference:

> The Jews receive practically none of the essential protective and vitamin foods. They get no meat, fish, poultry,

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milk, dairy products, fruit or vegetables. They may purchase none of the foods which are still unrationed, none of the items which are distributed on the basis of the consumer lists, none of the semi-rationed items. More and more rationed staples are entirely denied to them; and of such rationed food as they may still receive, they are allotted not more than half of the normal rations. As a rule, the weekly rations for Jews in Polish ghettos amount at best to a pound of black bread, two ounces of so-called jams or marmalade, one ounce of sugar, and perhaps a few potatoes. They receive no other food. Four hundred calories is the daily ration of a ghetto-Jew as compared with a nutritional minimum of 3,000.

Every assistance in the form of finance, additional supplies, and guarantees on the ultimate disposal of the refugees, should be given to neutral countries which have offered asylum. Switzerland, Spain and Sweden have received thousands of refugees in circumstances which would certainly have denied them admission elsewhere. In spite of the difficulties of their own situation, they have admitted fugitives without guarantees, without papers and without means. It is fair to say that appropriate measures are being taken in each case to help these countries to sustain the burden which they have assumed, and that in this respect the unhappy Bermuda Conference yielded results. But more help is needed. It is known that these neutrals would be prepared to take the initiative in an attempt to save some of the children who survive in occupied territory. But no such development is possible without guarantees from the democracies. It is inconceivable that such guarantees will be denied.

The satellite states, especially Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, can be induced or pressed to allow their Jews to leave, and in the meantime to abandon or mitigate their measures of oppression. The British Government some months ago made a significant contribution to the solution of this problem by arranging with the Bulgarian Government through a neutral intermediary for the release of 4,000 children who were to be accompanied by 500 adults and were provided with visas for Palestine. The Bulgarians have since gone back on the arrangement, and they have done so under Nazi pressure. But there is no reason to assume that the matter is closed. As the balance of military power changes, the effectiveness of Nazi pressure will change with it. With the Mediterranean now firmly under Allied control, the satellites are likely to be increasingly sensible to the desirability of "acquiring merit" against the day of judgment.

As we have said above, the right of asylum, so generously acknowledged by the smaller neutrals, must be recognized by the English-speaking world. Apart from considerations of honor, it is manifestly fantastic for the two great democracies to go in search of places of refuge so long as their own doors are not more widely opened. Their attitudes in this respect will be the test of their sincerity. They are not being asked to amend their immigration laws, or even to accept the refugees as permanent immigrants. But it is surely not too much to ask, at a time when foreign labor is being freely imported, that temporary hospitality should be freely given to men fleeing from death.

The Contribution of Palestine

If the Jews now in Nazi captivity were asked what form of rescue they would prefer, nine out of ten would reply: "Give me a certificate for Palestine." The immigration certificate issued through the Jewish Agency for Palestine by the administration of that country has long been a symbol of deliverance among European Jews, and one form of underground organization which they have managed to maintain is that for the preparation of *halutzim*, or pioneers, for the Jewish National Home. Nor is it surprising that the Zionist ideal should have taken so firm a hold on the Jewish masses. This is not the first time that Jewish communities have been destroyed and Jews deported to distant lands. Twenty-five hundred years ago a Jewish poet in exile swore an oath: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her cunning." His people were faithful to that oath, and in due course established a second Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. That Commonwealth preserved the Jewish people and enabled them to make their contribution to the progress of humanity. For the national literature which they preserved became the Bible of humanity, and the ideal which their poets and prophets proclaimed gave birth to the religions of the Western world and Islam.

The memory of these events has remained vivid in the consciousness of the Jew, and he has dreamed of a third Jewish Commonwealth. That dream has been part of the substance of his religion and it sustained him through the long night of his strange, eventful history. And now, as it seems to him, he is in the midst of that Armageddon which presages the fulfilment of his dream. For millions of Jews in Europe there is only one hope, and the name of that hope is Zion. If the European Jew is to be heard in the determination of his own fate, he will ask for the fulfilment of that hope.

What is the alternative? When the day of reckoning comes, he is entitled to the right to return to his home and to receive in whatever form may be feasible some reparation for the damage and wrong which have been done him. While the right to return must in justice be asserted and be made available to those who desire to

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